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The Yorktown Prisoners: A Narrative Account of the Disposition of the British Army Which Capitulated at Yorktown, October 19, 1781.

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THE YORKTOWN PRISONERS
A Narrative Account of the Disposition of the British Army
Which Capitulated at Yorktown, October 19, 1781

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
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INTRODUCTION

For nearly 170 years the historian, both professional and amateur, has written and rewritten the story of the American Revolution. Each new account has professed to add new light on some previously neglected subject. In many cases this has been true, yet, with the exception of a limited number of specialized studies made available in recent years, all of the narratives, histories and biographies have as their central theme the struggle for independence of an oppressed people or the life story of one of the chief actors in the ordeal. Only a few writers have found the British side of the picture sufficiently attractive to employ it as their basic topic. As a result many sources, rich in Revolutionary material, have been virtually untouched, and significant chapters in our national history are yet to be told. This study has as its subject one of those neglected chapters.

During the month of September and the early days of October, in 1781, the combined armies of France and the American States succeeded in trapping at Yorktown, Virginia, a British force that had harassed the Southern Colonies for nearly two years. Aided by the French West Indian fleet, which blocked all hope of British reinforcements from the north, the Allied Armies began siege operations on the night of September 28. The defenders, though outnumbered more than two to one, resolved to hold their position.

The odds, however, were too great. After twenty days of speradic fighting, the British commanding general, Lord Cornwallis, recognized his hopeless circumstances and in regard for his men, asked for a cessation of hostilities preliminary to capitulation. On the afternoon of the nineteenth of October, the defending army marched out of Yorktown to surrender their arms and accoutrements to the victors.

The story of the siege of Yorktown has been related competently, and in considerable detail. However, after recounting the events of the siege and the surrender ceremony, historians invariably have shifted the scene of their narratives to the final phases of the Revolution in the north and the south. By so doing, they have left untold an integral part of the Yorktown story. They have neglected to complete the record of the adventures of the nearly eight thousand men who surrendered their arms.

Who were these men? Where were they taken from Yorktown? What were their experiences at their places of internment? How long did they remain prisoners of war? And, finally, did all of them return to their homes?

These are the questions which are largely unanswered. It is with the purpose of at least partially filling that deficiency that this study has been undertaken. The form employed is that of a narrative, and it is admitted beforehand that the method has its limitations. However, because of the nature of the material

available and the subject to be treated, a narrative account seems the most suitable. Statistical data is introduced only where it is needed to clarify a point being discussed. Similarly, interpretations of questionable factors are avoided except when their insertion does not break the continuity of the story. No attempt is made to list all the county jails or houses of detention in which stragglers or escapees were held, attention being directed primarily to the main internment camps at Winchester in Virginia, at Frederick in Maryland, and at York and Lancaster in Pennsylvania. Throughout, the focus of the thesis is pointed to the activities of the main body of troops, individuals being introduced only when their experiences add interest to the narrative. To avoid unnecessary repetition, where the details of the period of internment are similar, the camp described is the one best known. In all, the study is no more than the simplicity of its title advertises.

CHAPTER I

THE DAY OF SURRENDER

The surrender of Cornwallis's Army at Yorktown has been called "the climax of the Revolution." Certainly it was the final significant land action in North America, and, coming when it did, it re-kindled among the war-weary patriots an air of optimism that was sufficiently strong to carry them through the final year of their struggle for independence. For nearly two years the legions of "the modern Hannibal" had devastated the countryside of the Southern Colonies, always eluding the forces who pursued them. Now, at last, the pursuit had ended. The wily Cornwallis had been trapped, besieged and forced to surrender. The victors were jubilant and from Yorktown swift couriers soon spread the joyous news to the cities and towns of the young nation. While the citizenry rejoiced and Congress paused to pass resolutions of gratitude and congratulations to the Allied Armies, the military staffs in Virginia resumed their normal business. Success had its handicaps. For the second time within four years, the colonies faced the problem of internment and provisioning a force of more than five thousand men. To this task the authorities, both civil and military, immediately turned their attention.

The combat personnel surrendered by Lord Cornwallis numbered as follows:

	<u>Officers</u>	<u>Rank and File</u>
British	217	4298
German	75	1862
Loyalist	<u>79</u>	<u>445</u>
	371	6605

Additional prisoners included four chaplains, 43 surgeons and mates, 18 quartermasters, and 130 men belonging to the provost, hospital, and commissary departments. This gave a grand total of 7171 prisoners to be paroled or interned.¹ Of these, 2139 were listed as sick or wounded,² who had to be maintained at Gloucester Point until they were fit to travel.

Preparations for the removal of those able to march began immediately following the surrender ceremony, the rank and file receiving first attention. Their destination and future treatment had been provided for in the Articles of Capitulation.

The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, and as much by regiments as possible, and supplied with the same rations or provisions as allowed to the soldiers in the service of America. A field officer from each nation, to wit, British, Anspach, and Hessian,

¹ Totals are taken from Thomas Durie's return of the prisoners, Papers of the Continental Congress, Letters of Washington, X, Part I, 331, in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. The disproportionate number of Loyalist officers was due to the fact that some of the provincial commands had an officer with only one or two rank and file.

² Baron von Clozen, MS Journal of Baron Jean ... von Clozen, Aide to Count de Rochambeau, April, 1780 -- June, 1783, Transcript in French by W. C. Ford in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. I, 381.

and other officers on parole in the proportion of one to fifty men, to reside near their respective regiments and be witnesses of their treatment, ...³

The British and German officers spent a good part of the evening of October 19, determining which of them would remain with the prisoners. Among the field officers this was decided by drawing lots. Lieutenant Colonel Lake, of the Guards, seems to have drawn the unlucky ballot among the British. However, because Lake was married, Major James Gordon, a bachelor, volunteered to take the post and was accepted.⁴ Though there were four field officers with the two Hessian regiments, if one of them went with the prisoners his name is not given by any of the known contemporary journalists. Major von Beust, of the Bayreuth Regiment, was selected to command the two regiments of Anspachers.⁵

From the evidence available in reports, muster rolls and journals it would seem that the stipulation of Article V regarding the proportion of officers, to accompany the rank and file, was not followed by Cornwallis. If we accept the figures Washington dispatched to his Commissary General of Prisoners on October 25,⁶ no less than one hundred and twenty officers would have remained in the colonies. Cornwallis, however, issued instructions that one captain and three subalterns of

³Article V, Articles of Capitulation. See Appendix B.

⁴Roger Lamb, An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurrences during the Late American War, from Its Commencement to the Year 1783 (Dublin, 1809), 423. Hereafter cited as Roger Lamb, Journal.

⁵Johann C. Doehla, Tagebuch eines Bayreuther Soldaten, des Johann Conrad Doehla aus dem Nordamerikanischen Freitskrieg von 1777 bis 1783 (Bayreuth, Germany, 1913), 154. Hereafter cited as Doehla, Tagebuch.

⁶John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799 (Washington, 1937), XXIII, 263n. Hereafter cited as Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington.

each regiment must stay with the prisoners.⁷ Under these orders a maximum of sixty-eight officers would have been interned. Enumerating the names listed in the various official documents and personal records, it appears that about seventy-five officers from the Yorktown prisoners were at some time or other resident in, or near the prison camps. Only the Germans seem to have followed the allowed ratio in the Articles of Capitulation.⁸

The manner of choosing the above officers varied among the different regiments. Some were appointed by the regimental commander. In the British units they followed the pattern set by the field officers.⁹

The officers who were not designated to go with the troops were provided for in Article VI, of the Articles of Capitulation.

The general, staff and other officers, not employed as mentioned in the articles, and who choose it, to be permitted to go on parole to Europe, to New York, or any other American posts at present in possession of the British forces, at their option and proper vessels to be granted by the Count de Grasse to carry them under flags of truce to New York within ten days from this date, if possible, and they to reside in a district to be agreed upon hereafter until they embark.

The disposition of these paroled officers will be dealt with in greater detail in a later chapter.

⁷Sir John Ross, Memoirs and Correspondence of Admiral Lord de Saumarez (London, 1838), II, Addenda, 341. Ross's work includes a brief biographical sketch of Sir Thomas Saumarez, brother of Lord de Saumarez. Sir Thomas was an officer with the Twenty-third Foot at Yorktown.

⁸Doehla, Tagebuch, 154-155. In contrast to the exactness of the Germans, the British followed no precise pattern. No less than six captains from the Guards went with the prisoners. Colonel James J. Graham, ed., Memoir of General Samuel Graham, with Notices of the Campaigns in Which He Was Engaged from 1779 to 1801 (Edinburg, 1862), 82.

⁹Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 64; Ross, Memoirs and Correspondence of Admiral Lord de Saumarez, I, 341.

The day following the surrender proved to be a busy one for the Americans. Washington, anxious over the nearness of their position to the coast and fearful of an attempted rescue on the part of Clinton,¹⁰ had hoped to start the captured army promptly on the way to the interior. However, due to the number and location of the men, the Continental Commissary of Prisoners was unable to complete his accounts in time and the departure had to be delayed an extra day.¹¹

While Commissary Durie was obtaining musters of the various regiments and securing the paroles of the officers, the prisoners enjoyed a much needed day of rest. After "the hardships and sleepless nights of the siege,"¹² they were exhausted.¹³ Their future prospects promised little respite from that weariness since they knew they faced a lengthy march to their places of confinement. The extra day within the town also afforded them an opportunity to collect and pack the few personal belongings they were to carry on the inland journey.

Some of Cornwallis' officers, availing themselves of the liberties granted them, went out to examine the entrenchments of the victors. The French accepted them as professional brothers and eagerly

¹⁰Henry P. Johnston, The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis, 1781 (New York, 1881), 151-152.

¹¹John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Diaries of George Washington, 1748 - 1799 (Boston, 1925), II, 270.

¹²Doehla, Tagebuch, 158

¹³Journal of Baron von Closen, I, 378.

exchanged opinions. In contrast the Continental troops refused such civilities. M. le Abbe Robin observed that

... when they [the prisoner officers] went to visit those of the Americans, they were driven away with contempt and indignation. During the whole time they remained at York, I do not remember that they had the least connexion or intercourse with the Americans, while they lived upon familiar terms with the French, and sought upon all occasions to give them proof of their esteem.¹⁴

While it is true that many of the Americans took this opportunity to reveal their animosity toward the British, the feeling was not unanimous. Some of the provincial troops showed greater deference to their former enemies than to their own countrymen.¹⁵

Elsewhere at Yorktown, the military and civil staffs of the Continental Army made arrangements for the journey of the prisoners to Winchester, Virginia, and Fort Frederick, in Maryland, the two places selected for their confinement.¹⁶ Early in the war it had become customary for the colonial agencies to assume control over prisoners residing in, or passing through their territories.¹⁷ Hence, primary

¹⁴Claude C. Robin, New Travels through North-America: in a Series of Letters; Exhibiting, the History of the Victorious Campaign of the Allied Armies, under His Excellency General Washington, and the Count de Rochambeau, in the Year 1781. Translated /by Philip Freneau/ from the Original of the Abbe Robin, One of the Chaplains to the French army in America (Philadelphia, 1783), 65.

¹⁵Cf. below, 17.

¹⁶Fitzpatrick, ed., The Diaries of George Washington, II, 269-270.

¹⁷Provincial governments drafted the guards from the local militia and provisioned both the prisoners and their keepers. Accounts of the funds expended were reported to local or State committees responsible for such matters, who in turn made claims to the Continental Superintendent of Finances. The practice was expensive but unavoidable since Washington

authority rested with the Virginia Executive, the Government of Maryland later to share this responsibility. Accordingly, General Robert Lawson was ordered by Governor Nelson to take command of the escort of Virginia Militia who would guard the prisoners enroute to their stations.¹⁸

Lawson's instructions were to assume command of the column proceeding from Yorktown. Later, at Fredericksburg, he was to effect a meeting with the garrison coming up from Gloucester, and to take charge of those prisoners and such of their guard as continued as escort. At some point beyond this junction the prisoners allotted for Maryland were to be separated and sent on their way. Those destined for Winchester were to be placed under the immediate control of Colonel John Smith, County Lieutenant of Frederick, on arrival there. Provisions for the column were to be provided at regular intervals along the route and in the event they failed to materialize, Lawson was authorized to impress supplies.¹⁹

dared not weaken the Continental Army for these duties. The system was formally discontinued when the office of Secretary at War was created in November, 1781. Gaillard Hunt and others, editors, Journals of the Continental Congress (Washington, 1933), XXII, 413. By early spring, 1782, Continental troops had assumed guardianship.

¹⁸Letter from Governor Thomas Nelson to General Robert Lawson, October 20, 1781, H.R. McIlwaine, ed., Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia. The Letters of Thomas Nelson and Benjamin Harrison (Richmond, 1929), III, 88. Hereafter cited as Official Letters of the Governors.

¹⁹Ibid. No attempt was made to transport the Gloucester garrison across the York River, and those troops marched for Fredericksburg under the escort of Colonel West's regiment of militia. See letter from General George Weedon to Governor Nelson, October 20, 1781, William P. Palmer, ed., Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652 - 1781, Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond (Richmond, 1875), II, 560. Hereafter cited as Calendar of Virginia State Papers.

On receipt of his orders, General Lawson set about making last minute preparations for the departure. These included a visit to Cornwallis,²⁰ probably in regard to the billeting arrangements for the officers and men of the Earl's former command. Undoubtedly, Lawson's duties kept him busy well into the night and were still unfinished at sunrise the next morning, for it was approaching noon before the prisoners departed.

²⁰Edward M. Riley, ed., "St. George Tucker's Journal of the Siege of Yorktown, 1781," The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, V (July 1948), 393. Hereafter cited as "St. George Tucker's Journal."

CHAPTER II

THE EVACUATION OF THE MAIN FORCE

Providence could not have provided a better day for the departure of the captive army. The weather was fair and warm. According to a prearranged schedule, the units of the Virginia Militia assigned as escort were paraded to await the formation of the prisoners. By ten o'clock the British regiments had filed out of their cantonments and had begun their march toward Williamsburg. It is probable that the citizens of Yorktown, making their way to church to celebrate the Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, were relieved to see their former masters depart under close guard. At the same time many of them must have been awed by the spectacle of the several thousand veteran troops who marched out; and no doubt there were some among the town's residents who stood along the roadside until after three in the afternoon, when the German contingents finally departed.¹

¹The departure of the troops is mentioned in all of the Yorktown journals. The basic facts for the description given above were selected from the following accounts: Doehla, Tagebuch, 159; Count William de Deux-Ponts, My Campaigns in America: A Journal Kept by Count William de Deux-Ponts, 1780-81, trans. Samuel Abbott Green (Boston, 1868), 152; William Feltman, "The Journal of Lieut. William Feltman, of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, from May 26, 1781 to April 25, 1782, Embracing the Siege of Yorktown and the Southern Campaign," Pennsylvania Historical Society, Collections, I (May, 1853), 323; Lieutenant Colonel David Cobb, "Before York Town, Virginia, October 1 - November 30, 1781," Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, XIX (1881-1882), 69.

At the head of the long column rode General Lawson, in command of the escort.² With him were his staff and the various militia officers representing the counties whose men made up the guard. According to the practices of the times, these men were mounted, as were these British, German and Hessian officers who were able to procure horses.³ Behind the column leaders, the prisoners marched by regiment,⁴ their formation frequently broken by the baggage wagons of the officers, or small groups of women and children who chose to follow the troops on their long inland trek.⁵

The British regulars marched first in the column of prisoners, the steady scarlet pattern of their uniforms almost monotonous in its similarity. Only here and there could an observer have distinguished an individual regiment in the row on row of red coats. The height of the grenadiers, the pride of Cornwallis's Army, made them stand out among their shorter comrades, as did the shakos worn by the 23rd and 76th Regiments of Foot. The Seventy-First, the only one of the two Highland regiments at Yorktown who wore the tartan, had an

²"St. George Tucker's Journal," 394.

³Many of the horses belonging to the British Army had died, or been killed for the want of forage. Those remaining at the end of the siege were surrendered to the Americans. All officers were permitted to retain both their swords and their horses, unless the latter were claimed by the local inhabitants as stolen. *Ibid.*; Letter from Weedon to Washington, October 21, 1781, Washington Papers, MSS in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

⁴Deux-Ponts, My Campaigns in America, 152.

⁵Deehla says that 63 soldiers' wives and 14 children went with the troops from Yorktown. Tagebuch, 153). There is evidence that some of the English officers had wives or mistresses with them but apparently none accompanied the interned officers. Robin, New Travels, 65.

individuality all their own. They marched with green plaid kilts swirling about their knees, and bright green plumes waving in their bonnets. The artillerymen were in the blue which usually distinguished them in the eighteenth century armies. But these few independents were engulfed in the sea of scarlet before and behind them. The two Hessian regiments and the ones from Anspach and Bayreuth, bringing up the rear, made an abrupt and definite change from their allies. Except for the troops of Colonel von Bose (Hessians) who were uniformed in green, the German ranks were in blue.⁶ Though now deprived of their battle accoutrements, the Germans retained their high knapsacks and marched with flasks and field kettles swinging about them.⁷

Ahead, behind, and probably sometimes alongside this resplendent column marched the three divisions of militia escort.⁸ Some of the militiamen wore tattered fragments of uniforms⁹ but since most of the companies were from the Piedmont and Shenandoah Valley counties,¹⁰ many were undoubtedly clad in the fringed buckskins customary to the frontiersmen. In addition to their weapons, a number probably carried souvenirs of their recent triumph.

⁶Uniform descriptions are taken from interpretive charts and reproductions prepared from original sources by technicians of the National Park Service. They are available at Colonial National Historical Park, Yorktown, Virginia.

⁷Doshla, Tagebuch, 159.

⁸Feltman, "Journal," 323.

⁹Journal of Baron von Clozen, I, 378.

¹⁰Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 66; Freeman H. Hart, The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789 (Chapel Hill, 1942), 95; J. T. McAllister, Virginia Militia in the Revolutionary War (Hot Springs, Va., 1913), passim.

This was the nature of the throng which filled the Williamsburg Road for several miles by late afternoon of the twenty-first. Because of their numbers and the time required to clear their cantonments, the column made little progress before nightfall. They chose a meadow about six miles from Yorktown for their first overnight stop and there camped "under the open sky" with "little to crumble and to bite."¹¹

The nearness of the first stopping-place to the Allied camp enabled the curious to see more of the prisoners. After visiting them, M. Blanchard, the Commissary of the French Corps, made this interesting observation in his journal:

I saw them make their soup, go for wood, etc. The Germans preserved order and a certain discipline; on the contrary, there was very little order among the English, who were proud and arrogant. There was no call for this; they had not even made a handsome defense, and, at this very moment, were beaten and disarmed by peasants who were almost naked, whom they pretended to despise and who, nevertheless, were their conquerors.¹²

The following morning the march was renewed, passing through Williamsburg to the next camp site on a hill a mile beyond the town. Here the prisoners received their first full rations from the Americans. The provision allotted consisted of fresh meat, bread made from corn meal, and what vegetables the commissaries could purchase in the town.

¹¹Doehla, Tagebuch, 159; Joseph G. Rosengarten, ed. and tr., "Popp's Journal, 1777-1783," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXVI (1902), 249. Hereafter cited as "Popp's Journal."

¹²Claude Blanchard, The Journal of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French Auxiliary Army sent to the United States during the American Revolution, 1780-1783, trans. William Duane and ed. Thomas Balch (Albany, N.Y., 1876), 153.

However, the soldiers were permitted considerable freedom, and those dissatisfied with such meager sustenance found a ready market for their "hard" money among the farmers and merchants of the vicinity.¹³ Many probably enjoyed dairy products for the first time in weeks.

While the prisoners took advantage of their opportunities, General Lawson was busy reorganizing the escort and issuing special instructions to his command. His orders for October 22 were prefaced with a complimentary note to the British officers for the efficiency with which they performed their duties. According to Ensign Dennis, Adjutant of the Forty-third Regiment, Lawson further assured the officers that he intended to make their situation as agreeable as circumstances and his duty permitted, that he had at no time during the war deliberately caused distress to men who were prisoners of the American Army, and that he intended no such action on this occasion.¹⁴

This was undoubtedly a sincere gesture on the part of the commander of the escort, but what motivated it is open to speculation. He may possibly have hoped to allay any fears of reprisal or ill-treatment that still persisted¹⁵ and to enlist the officers' support in the event of disorders among the men.

¹³Doehla, Tagebuch, 159; "Popp's Journal," 249.

¹⁴British General and Brigade Orders, Lord Cornwallis, Virginia and Yorktown, May 23 - Oct. 22, 1781, MS orderly book of the 43rd Regiment, in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, II, 62-63.

¹⁵Cf. Letter from Aedamus Burke to Arthur Middleton, November 18, 1781, Joseph W. Barnwell, ed., "Correspondence of Hon. Arthur Middleton, Signer of the Declaration of Independence," South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, XXVI (October, 1925), 189.

Lawson's reorganization of the escort was made necessary by the change in the availability status of certain county commands. Following the reduction of the British position at Yorktown, many of the militia companies retired to camp sites around Williamsburg. Some of these companies were assigned to the guard detail, and, though Lawson needed the rank and file of their complements, he could not use all of the officers. An additional problem was created by the loss of companies from Tidewater counties, whose instructions were to proceed only as far as Williamsburg, and there to join the American Army forming to join General Greene in the Southern Colonies.¹⁶

By way of resolving this problem of personnel, the militia officers commanding the three escort divisions were ordered to arrange their men in companies of fifty men, each company having as officers one captain, one lieutenant, and an ensign. There seems to have been an excessive number of the latter for they were instructed to draw lots to decide which would remain with the command. All supernumerary officers were discharged. The militia who had been encamped at Williamsburg were distributed equally among the three divisions of the guard, and their officers apportioned in accordance with Lawson's instructions.¹⁷

Lawson's orders for the prisoners related to their provisions and their conduct. Axes were distributed to the quartermasters of each regiment and the soldiers were informed that when they required

¹⁶McAllister, Virginia Militia, 155.

¹⁷British General and Brigade Orders, II, 63-65.

wood or water during the journey they must make application to an officer of the escort. He, in turn, was to direct a non-commissioned officer to accompany the prisoners on this detail and to see that they returned to the camping ground. Having been informed that some of the soldiers had stored personal belongings in the wagons appropriated for the transportation of the officers baggage only, Lawson ordered this circumstance corrected. To facilitate the provisioning of the column during the march, three days victuals were cooked and packed. A fresh meat supplement to these rations was provided for by the presence of one hundred head of beef, procured from the commissariat and driven ahead of the troops.¹⁸ These arrangements concluded, the column was ready to continue toward its destination.

At five O'clock on Tuesday morning, October 23, the advance units of the escort moved out of Williamsburg.¹⁹ Soon afterwards, the entire force followed, proceeding along the well-traveled woodland road which led to New Kent Court House. As the weather continued to be favorable and no incidents occurred to interrupt their advance, by nightfall the column had reached a point near Bird's Tavern, eighteen miles from Williamsburg.²⁰

On the twenty-fourth the progress of the column was seriously hindered by a mutiny of some of the English soldiers. So firm were their intentions of rebellion that the militia was forced to fire on them, killing one man and wounding three others. Though a general mutiny was

¹⁸Ibid., II, 64-65.

¹⁹Ibid., II, 63.

²⁰Doehla, Tagebuch, 160.

avoided, individual prisoners began to lag and desert that day.²¹ The carelessness of the guard, many of them already bored with their tedious duties and anxious to return to their homes, probably accounted for this loss. Aware of the situation, Lawson warned Washington in a letter written that night from Camp Drinking Spring, that he could not guarantee against escapes.²²

During the four succeeding days no further significant disorders occurred and the column pressed steadily forward, in an effort to stay within their time schedule.²³ As they moved through the country beyond New Kent Court House and into Hanover County, changes began to appear in the terrain, increasing rises in the road breaking the monotony of the Tidewater flatlands. Occasional tobacco fields pierced the woodland beside the road. On October 26, as they passed to the left of New Castle, a steady autumn rain began to fall, staying with them until they were well beyond the valley of the Pamunkey River. This change in the weather made the march by day more disagreeable; by night, with only the trees to shelter them from the elements, their camp fires were very little comfort.²⁴ Dry wood became a problem and in search of it the prisoners were not above destroying private property. Apparently

²¹Doebla, Tagebuch, 160.

²²Letter from Lawson to Washington, October 24, 1781, in Washington Papers.

²³Governor Nelson, in planning provision stations for the column, allowed one week for them to travel from Yorktown to Fredericksburg. Letter from Nelson to the Commissary at Fredericksburg, October 21, 1781, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 564.

²⁴Doebla, Tagebuch, 160-161.

the escort condoned their behaviour for one of the British officers wrote in his journal that

our guards were ... called backwoodsmen, between whom and the inhabitants of the lower parts there existed no cordiality; and at night when we halted, they not only allowed but even encouraged our men to pull down and make fires of the fence-rails, as we had been accustomed to do when we had arms in our hands; and when a proprietor complained they only laughed at him. They did not scruple also to let us make free with a turnip field.²⁵

Finally, after a week's journey, the weary troops saw the blue haze of the valley of the Rappahannock River, which indicated that they were nearing the little town of Fredericksburg situated on the river's west bank. They were destined to spend three days near the town before continuing on to Winchester or Frederick, depending upon their assignments.

The evening and night of October 29 was spent in a glade one and one-half miles south of the town. Here they received provisions and money, the latter for the first time. Despite the rain, which had begun anew, many visited the neighboring farms to purchase poultry and vegetables, these being a welcome supplement to the coarse muffins baked from the commissary's corn meal.²⁶ On the following morning the main body of the troops were joined by the Gloucester garrison which had come up under the command of Colonel West.²⁷ In the afternoon of

²⁵Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 66.

²⁶Doehla, Tagebuch, 161; "Popp's Journal," 249.

²⁷West delivered approximately 1,000 prisoners to Lawson at Fredericksburg. Journal of Baron von Glosen, I, 381. The militiamen of the former's command, whose terms of enlistment (3 months) had expired, here stacked their arms. The remainder were instructed to join Lawson's command. Letter from Nelson to Lawson, October 20, 1781, Official Letters of the Governors, III, 88; letter from Weedon to Nelson, October 20, 1781, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 560.

the same day the whole body of troops moved through Fredericksburg and two miles beyond to a new camp-site on the bank of the Rappahannock. This being the half-way mark on their long trek, the prisoners were permitted a day of rest.²⁸

Early Thursday morning, November 1, the column waded through the chilling waters of the river, crossing to Falmouth on the opposite bank.²⁹ This accomplished without mishap they advanced rapidly along the Potomac Path, the main public road leading to the north. Now the route followed by the troops was frequently broken by small fresh water streams, all easily forded despite the continuous rain. Where they encountered bog-land, the lead companies felled trees to keep the sloughs of mud from hindering the men's progress. By nightfall they reached a point slightly west of the little port town of Dumfries.³⁰

On Friday morning the prisoners turned off the main highway, following the pine-covered ridge above the freshes feeding Powell's and Neabsco Creeks. This change was probably ordered to avoid the

²⁸Deehla, Tagebuch, 161-163.

²⁹Ibid., 163.

³⁰The condition of the roads in this section of Virginia were a constant subject of complaint during the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth century. Good descriptions of the roads followed by the prisoners will be found in Francois Jean Marquis de Chastellux, Travels in North-America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782 by the Marquis de Chastellux, trans. George Grieve (London, 1787), II, 3-11; Johann David Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784, trans. and ed. Alfred J. Morrison (Philadelphia, 1911) II, 46 and 78; Isaac Weld, Travels through the States of North America ... 1795, 1796, and 1797 (3rd ed.; London, 1800), I, 91.

deep gorge of Osecoquan Creek and to take full advantage of the shelter offered by the trees.³¹ During the day the column came to Fairfax Court House and at this point the body of troops destined for Maryland was separated from the full company.³² Also, anticipating a shortage of quarters at Winchester,³³ Lawson left about one hundred of the English troops in care of the local militia.³⁴

After a night's rest the Maryland-bound prisoners continued northward until they intersected the wagon trail along the west bank of the Potomac River. They then followed this route west, past Leesburg, and north to Noland's Ferry, at which point they were transported across the river to where the Maryland Militia waited to conduct them to Frederick.³⁵

³¹None of the soldiers' journals identify landmarks above Stafford County before the arrival at Fairfax Court House. The route suggested in the text is assumed after examining the wagon routes of the period, west of the Potomac Path, and in consideration of the time that was spent in reaching Fairfax Court House.

³²Doehla, Tagebuch, 163; "Popp's Journal," 250. Washington's instructions for the disposal of the prisoners were as follows: at Fort Frederick, Md.: the Hessian regiments Bose, 271, and Prince Hereditaire, 425; all Yagers, 68; British Light Infantry, 594; Seventeenth Foot, 205; Thirty-third Foot, 225; Seventy-first Foot, 242; Eightieth Foot, 588; Tarleton's British Legion, 192, and the North Carolina Volunteers, 114. At Winchester: the two regiments of Anspachers, 948; the Royal Artillery, 193; the Brigade of Guards, 467; Twenty-third Foot, 205; Forty-third Foot, 307; Seventy-sixth Foot, 628; the Queen's Rangers, 245, and 33 Pioneers and Guides. Thus 2924 men were destined for Maryland and 3029 for the latter post. Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, 263n. Washington obviously took his figures from Commissary Durie's return. Hence the above figures include not only those under Lawson's escort but the sick and wounded expected to join them later.

³³Cf. below, 49-50.

³⁴Doehla, Tagebuch, 163.

³⁵Cf. McAllister, Virginia Militia, 39, 98, 145 and 162.

The troops to be confined at Winchester turned westward toward their destination and that evening camped within sight of the upper ranges of the Blue Ridge Mountains.³⁶ On Sunday morning, November 4th, the column moved up and through Ashby's Gap;³⁷ by afternoon they had descended to the Shenandoah River in the valley below the mountains. Despite the weather, by now quite cold, the prisoners and their escort again had to wade through icy waters, carrying their shoes and stockings. In some places the water reached the upper bodies of those on foot and the swift current constantly threatened to unbalance them. The officers made use of their horses but, as the river frequently closed over the animals' backs, even this did not keep them totally dry. Once on the other side, the men were immediately on their way, moving rapidly to ward off chills.³⁸

On Monday evening, November 5, after a sixteen day journey covering nearly two hundred and forty miles, the column finally reached Winchester. They passed through the town and four miles beyond to the site of Old Fort Frederick, a relict of the French and Indian War.

³⁶Doehla, Tagebuch, 163.

³⁷Here occurred an incident that has become one of the most amusing anecdotes regarding the prisoners. As the column approached the Gap, several of the British officers rode ahead and stopped at a tavern kept by Mrs. Ashby (Ashby's Tavern still stands near Paris, to the north of U.S. Highway 50). Captain Graham, one of the officers has left the following account:

"... I asked Mrs. Ashley [Ashby] if she could give two or three of us anything to eat. She stared at my uniform, saying — 'A militiaman, I guess.' 'No,' was my reply. 'Continental mayhap;' to which I also replied in the negative. 'Oho!' said she, 'I see you are one of the sarpints, one of ould Wallace's [Cornwallis'] men; well now, I have two sons, one was at the catching of Johnny Burgoyne, and the other at that of you; and next year they are both going to catch Clinton at New York; but you shall be treated kindly, my mother came from the ould country.'"

Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 66-67.

³⁸Doehla, Tagebuch, 163-164.

There, in what was called the New Frederick Barracks³⁹ and within the stockade surrounding, they were quartered. This was destined to be their home until the following January, when they were moved to facilitate the distribution of provisions. The winter weeks at Winchester, between November 5, 1781, and mid-January, 1782, were filled with hardships and many of the men did not live to move again.⁴⁰

³⁹The New Frederick Barracks had been built in the spring of 1780 to shelter units of the Convention Army shifted from Charlottesville, and elsewhere, on the approach of Cornwallis from the south. Alexander Wall, The Story of the Convention Army 1777-1783, Reprinted from the New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin (October, 1927), 29; letter of Colonel Joseph Holmes to Governor Nelson, October 26, 1781, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 569-570; Samuel Kercheval, A History of the Valley of Virginia (4th ed.; Strasburg, Va., 1925), 143.

⁴⁰Doshla, Tegebush, 164-171.

CHAPTER III

THE EVACUATION OF THE SICK AND WOUNDED

While the main body of the British Army was enroute to their places of confinement, two groups of their comrades continued on at the scene of the recent siege. The larger of the two groups was composed of the sick and wounded who had been unable to leave on October 21. In addition, detachments of the Twenty-third and the Eightieth Regiments remained to provide adequate hospital facilities on Gloucester Point. The latter completed their duties by Sunday, the twenty-eighth, and departed for Winchester on the following morning.¹

Though the British invalids were originally interned at Gloucester, it was not the intention of the Americans that they should remain there. Washington was anxious to return northward before the winter snows and needed his full command in the event that Clinton moved from New York. Further, the Yorktown-Williamsburg locale had been chosen as the site of Rochambeau's winter encampment. Certainly the French could not be burdened with prisoners that the Articles of Capitulation had proclaimed to be the responsibility of the Americans. With these things in mind, and cognizant of the independence of the

¹Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 71; Ross, ed., Memoirs ... of Admiral Lord de Saumarez, II, 341; Major Rowland Broughton-Mainwaring, ed., Historical Record of the Royal Welch Fusiliers Late the Twenty-Third Regiment (London, 1889), 106. There is no record of the route followed by these men, or of the escort, if any, which accompanied them.

local militia,² Washington made arrangements to move as many of the troops as possible before he left the area.

The problem confronting the American commander was not one easily resolved. The most logical inland base to which the prisoners might be moved was Fredericksburg, a week's march away and over roads which were by this time virtually impassable. Despite this, Washington issued orders that all those able to march must be prepared to leave by no later than November 4. At the same time, he wrote to Rochambeau, requesting small craft to move the stretcher patients.³

In keeping with the first part of Washington's plan, and in obedience to orders issued by him, detachments of Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt's Second New York Regiment⁴ were posted at Yorktown to receive the convalescents on the morning of November 5.⁵ The number brought

²On October 22, Nelson requested the County Lieutenant of Gloucester to provide a militia guard for the hospital. Letter from Nelson to the County Lieutenant of Gloucester, October 22, 1781, Official Letters of the Governors, III, 91. However, as late as November 24, no militiamen had reported. H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia (Richmond, 1932), II, 403. In the meantime Washington had assigned troops of the Second Maryland Regiment, whose enlistment terms prevented their being ordered south, to this duty. Instructions to Captain William Dent Beall, November 4, 1781, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXXIII, 330-331.

³Letter from Count de Rochambeau to Count de Grasse, October 28, 1781, in MS letterbook marked "1781 1782 1783", in Rochambeau Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, p. 178. (Hereafter cited as Rochambeau Papers).

⁴Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, "Autobiography of Philip Van Cortlandt, Brigadier General in the Continental Army," Magazine of American History, II (May, 1878), 295-296.

Almon W. Lauber, ed., Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780; Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783 (Albany, N.Y., 1932), 765.

over from Gloucester was about four hundred and sixty, both British and German. Following virtually the same route traveled by the column under General Lawson,⁶ Cortlandt set out for Fredericksburg on the fourth, arriving there on the eleventh. Here the prisoners were received by a militia guard under General Weedon.⁷ Washington's instructions were for the men to remain at this point until they had recuperated sufficiently to rejoin their regiments. For some of the prisoners their stay must have been a brief one as Doehla reports that the first convey of convalescents arrived in Winchester on November 20.⁸

After the first contingent of convalescents marched northward to Fredericksburg, there still remained about 1300 sick and wounded at Gloucester, using buildings needed by the French for winter quarters. Washington's plan for these men was that they were to be transported to Todd's Bridge by water, and from there overland to Fredericksburg or Hobb's Hole (now Tappahannock) where they might embark for Fredericksburg by water. He had designated about 300 Maryland Continentals, whose enlistments expired in December, to remain behind to assist in the removal of the patients. The Marylanders were to be relieved at Fredericksburg by militiamen under General Weedon.⁹ This plan, however, could not be

⁶The column stopped at Williamsburg, Bird's Tavern, New Kent C.H., Newcastle, Hanover C.H., New Market, and Spotswood's Plantation. Ibid., 765.

⁷Letter from Washington to Nelson, November 3, 1781, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, 325-326.

⁸Doehla, Tagebuch, 166.

⁹Letter from Washington to Nelson, November 3, 1781, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, 325-326.

immediately realized as there were no small craft available in which to transport the men. All the American vessels were being employed to move the Continental Army up the Chesapeake. The French, too, were faced with a shortage of shipping, due to the embarkation of St. Simon's troops for the West Indies. As a result of these circumstances no additional prisoners left Gloucester before Washington's departure from Yorktown on November 5.¹⁰

The responsibility for removing the invalids now fell on Thomas Durie, the American Deputy Commissary of Prisoners. From the manner in which he handled the task, he must have regarded the assignment as a disagreeable one and one of which he was anxious to be rid. Though he succeeded in relieving, to some extent, the housing shortage which confronted the French, in doing so, he managed to create new problems for both Rochambeau and the Virginia government.

On November 6 Durie received an analyzed report showing the exact status of the Gloucester Hospital.¹¹ From it he learned that there remained a total of 1387 men, of whom 609 were considered entirely too ill to be moved. This meant that 778 could be evacuated as soon as transportation became available, and Nelson had promised boats.¹² If the latter arrived promptly the detachment of Marylanders would still be available as escorts.

¹⁰William S. Baker, Itinerary of General Washington from June 15, 1775 to December 23, 1783. (Philadelphia, 1892), 247.

¹¹Report of Present State of Sick, and Wounded, belonging to the General and Regimental Hospitals, at Gloucester, November 6, 1781, signed by Alexr Grant, Surgeon and Field Inspector, in Washington Papers.

¹²Letter from Rochambeau to Nelson, November 6, 1781, Rochambeau Papers, p. 181.

In light of subsequent events Durie must have feared a premature departure of the Continentals or else he decided that the number of boats sent by Nelson would be insufficient for his purposes. After waiting only three days, he ordered 350 of the sick men to proceed on foot to Todd's Bridge, fifty miles away. The arrival of the boats on the evening of these men's departure made it possible to embark 250 more prisoners on Saturday, November 10. Then, after making arrangements for an additional 160 men to proceed up the York and Mattaponi Rivers on November 13, Durie moved his quarters to Williamsburg where, on November 14, he reported his activities at Gloucester and requested the Virginia Government to provide conveyances to transfer the prisoners from Todd's Bridge to Fredericksburg. In addition, he stated that the more than 500 invalids who still remained at Gloucester were to be secured by a detachment from Rochambeau's army, with the understanding that these prisoners would be removed by the local militia as soon as it became evident that to do so would not endanger their lives.¹³

With the above accomplished, the Continental Commissary evidently considered his obligations in the Yorktown area fulfilled. His next report, dated November 17 from near Fredericksburg, informed the Governor that 400 of the prisoners had already arrived at Todd's Bridge with the rest of those coming by water expected at any hour. Unfortunately, nearly 100 of those who had been ordered to march had been unable to come farther than Williamsburg. Since they could not be provided for

¹³Letter from Durie to Lieutenant Governor Jameson, November 14, 1781, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 598.

there, they received orders to proceed to Hanover Court House and from there to Todd's Bridge.¹⁴ Upon issuing these final instructions Durie left Virginia to rejoin Washington's command.¹⁵

At the time of his departure, the task of removing the remaining prisoners from the Tidewater area was not only incomplete but had actually entered what was to be its most trying phase for the provincial authorities. Durie's mishandling of his obligations was by no means completely to blame for this chaos which arose primarily from the failure of the local officials to cooperate fully with Washington and Nelson.

Among the men who departed from Yorktown on October 21, there were many who were actually unfit to make the march but too proud to stay behind. On the road some of these soon tired and began to lag. Others, in their determination to keep up, retarded the advance of the column and had to be weeded out by the militia guards. Thus it was that within the first week of the march about two hundred and forty disabled prisoners were left in the vicinity of Newcastle and Hanover Town, subject to the supervision of the local authorities.¹⁶

The disabled men were to remain in Hanover County until they could withstand the rigors of the march to Winchester or be transferred

¹⁴Abstract of letter from Durie to Nelson, ibid., II, 607.

¹⁵Letter from Rochambeau to Nelson, November 21, 1781, Rochambeau Papers, p. 185.

¹⁶Letter from Colonel John Syme to Colonel William Davies, November 4, 1781, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 577.

to Fredericksburg. During their stay in the county they were to be guarded by the local militia under Colonel John Syme. Such an arrangement would have been satisfactory but for the ill-equipped state of the militia. On November 4, more than a week after the passage of Lawson's column, Colonel Syme reported to Colonel William Davies, chairman of the Virginia Board of War, that he had been unable to get arms and ammunition for the guards. Furthermore, that due to the scarcity of wagons, he had been forced to use ox-carts to transport the invalids.¹⁷

Syme's report, stating the inadequacies of the local militia to cope with the burden thrust upon them, was a prelude to the stream of complaints that soon reached Richmond. On November 6, representations were made in the General Assembly to the effect that the prisoners at large in Hanover County were an annoying factor in that community. Some roved about at will while twenty or more, who were too ill to move, had established themselves in a barn near Hanover Town where they remained without guards or adequate provisions for their health.¹⁸ On November 15, Fortunatus Crutchfield, a resident of Hanover Town, reported the presence of 157 British prisoners, in the small Pamunkey port who were not only unguarded but without a responsible officer of their own. Crutchfield stated that most of them were able to march and that he was afraid many would escape.¹⁹

¹⁷Ibid., II, 577.

¹⁸Letter from George Webb to Colonel William Davies, November 6, 1781, Official Letters of the Governors, III, 95.

¹⁹Letter from Crutchfield to Syme, November 15, 1781, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 601.

The complaints of the people of Hanover resulted in a renewed attempt by Colonel Davies to provide armed escorts to remove the prisoners to Fredericksburg. After learning that he could expect little help from the Hanover militia, he turned to the county lieutenants of adjacent counties. The response from them was equally unsatisfactory. Though the people constantly protested the presence of the prisoners, they were reluctant to help remove them.²⁰ Meanwhile the results of Durie's hasty action were beginning to complicate Davies's problems.

On November 22, a physician of Hanover Town reported that some French officers had delivered the stragglers from Williamsburg a few days before at New Castle. Shortly afterwards they proceeded to Hanover Town so that on the twenty-second there were no less than two hundred unguarded prisoners in the latter town. The doctor's letter went on to say that despite their freedom he had heard no complaints of their behavior in the neighborhood.²¹ His good opinion of the British troops was not shared by all of the local inhabitants.

Another letter from Hanover Town, dated November 25, reported that the prisoners were "daily committing some wanton destruction either on public or private property." The total number of men was

²⁰In response to Davies' request, Joseph Hickman said that most of the men of King William County had been in service since Leslie's invasion and that he felt that they should be excused, but if they must serve he would call up fifty men, providing Davies furnished arms and ammunition. See abstract of his letter to Davies, *ibid.*, II, 615.

²¹Letter from Doctor G. Wilson to Davies, November 22, 1781, *ibid.*, 618.

given as 213, of whom seventy-eight were those recently brought up from Williamsburg. According to Kirkpatrick, the writer, the prisoners did as they pleased. Specifically the irate citizen informed Davies that the troops had broken open a warehouse and removed several barrels of flour, that they had burned three empty buildings, and that in search of firewood they had pulled down all the fencing within a half mile of the town as well as a large part of the paling surrounding the gardens.²²

While the people of Hanover Town attempted to resolve their difficulties, their neighbors at Ayletts and Todd's Bridge were in an equally unhappy state. However, the latter seem to have been more successful in finding a solution to their problems. Apparently all but 189 of the prisoners which Commissary Durie had ordered brought through Todd's Bridge were immediately moved from that point to Fredericksburg.²³ Most of them continued under the escort of the Maryland Continentals. Others followed under militia guard from King and Queen County. On November 22, Major Richard Claiborne, the State Militia Officer assigned to supervise the operations at Todd's Bridge, was informed that only about one hundred prisoners then remained at that Mattaponi River base. The local official charged with their removal reported that his work had been delayed by the scarcity of wagons and that he objected to any continued impressment of his neighbors' carts and teams.²⁴ The writer

²²Letter from A. Kirkpatrick to Davies, November 25, 1781, *ibid.*, 623.

²³Abstract of letter from Colonel William Lyne to Davies, December 8, 1781, *ibid.*, 645.

²⁴Abstract of letter from Reuben Turner to Major Richard Claiborne, November 22, 1781, *ibid.*, 618.

must have had the courage of his convictions, for two weeks later, on December 8, Colonel William Lyne notified Davies that from eighty to ninety disabled prisoners still remained at Todd's Bridge.²⁵

The foregoing events occurred in the final weeks of Thomas Nelson's term as Governor, a period during which he was ill and largely dependent upon his lieutenants for the proper administration of the state's affairs. Though they were admittedly handicapped by the reluctance of the populace to cooperate, it seems that they might have been more successful had they approached the people in a sterner manner. On December 1, Benjamin Harrison succeeded Nelson and thereafter there was an immediate improvement in the evacuation of the prisoners northward.

Governor Harrison first directed his attention to the problem in Hanover County. His letter to the County Lieutenant, dated December 11, charged that the officer's past neglect of his duties merited reprehension, since such conduct was "highly injurious to the American cause and to this State in particular." Colonel Syme was instructed to order the immediate collection and removal of prisoners to Fredericksburg. Enroute the officer commanding their escort was to take with him any stragglers found in the counties through which he passed.²⁶ The latter order was undoubtedly predicated upon reports that many of the prisoners, in order to obtain food, had taken employment with families in the area. One escaped prisoner, who passed through this region in late November,

²⁵Abstract of letter from Lyne to Davies, December 8, 1781, ibid., 645.

²⁶Letter from Governor Harrison to the County Lieutenant of Hanover, December 11, 1781, Official Letters of the Governors, III, 109.

recorded in his journal that he was presented with numerous opportunities to remain in the area as a laborer and that he saw above forty British troops who were working for the inhabitants.²⁷

On December 15 Colonel Thomas Lomax, a member of the State Council, informed the Governor that between fifty and one hundred British troops were working in Caroline County.²⁸ Harrison ordered that county's militia officers to assemble the prisoners in one group and to arrange for their removal to Fredericksburg.²⁹ The response to these instructions was prompt³⁰ and after the beginning of 1782 no further complaints of annoyance by prisoners were reported.

At Todd's Bridge, Harrison's attempts to relieve the position of the prisoner's required more time. Colonel William Lyne's letter to Colonel Davies, on December 8, described many of the men as "having the Flux" and in danger of death due to the lack of proper shelter and food.³¹ Lyne suggested that they be transported to the hospital at

²⁷Lamb, Journal, 390-391.

²⁸Letter from Lomax to Harrison, December 15, 1781, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 659.

²⁹Order from Harrison to Davies, n.d., ibid. Harrison's instructions were written on the back of the letter cited above, hence they must have been issued after December 15.

³⁰Abstract of letter from Colonel A[nthony] Thornton to Davies, December 24, 1781, ibid., 669.

³¹Letter from Lyne to Davies, December 8, 1781, ibid., 645.

Hanover Town.³² The Governor must have decided against Lyne's suggestion since the invalids were still at Todd's Bridge on January 7.³³ However, during that week Harrison ordered wagons to carry them to Fredericksburg,³⁴ and by January 9 the prisoners were enroute there.³⁵ With this operation underway, the only British troops who remained at large above Williamsburg were a small number employed on scattered farms. They went unmolested until May of 1782, when in response to a Congressional resolution, Harrison ordered them collected and sent to join their regiments in confinement.³⁶

The activities described above were not too unlike those which transpired at Gloucester during the same period, though the latter were more localized. At the time of Commissary Durie's departure in November, 1781, more than five hundred British and German invalids remained at Gloucester under the supervision of the French. The prisoners were not adequately supplied with provisions,³⁷ and Rochambeau, distressed over their

³² Hanover Town was ravaged by Cornwallis' troops during the summer of 1781. Later, during the siege of Yorktown, British prisoners were temporarily quartered there. Following the capitulation some of the town's buildings served as a hospital station for wounded militiamen and disabled prisoners.

³³ Abstract of letter from Benjamin Green, Acting Deputy Quartermaster, to Harrison, January 7, 1782, ibid., III, 9.

³⁴ Letter from Harrison to the County Lieutenants of King William and King and Queen Counties, January 8, 1782, Official Letters of the Governors, III, 122-123.

³⁵ Abstract of letter from Major Claiborne to Harrison, January 9, 1782, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, III, 12.

³⁶ Letter from Harrison to the Speaker of the House of Delegates, May 6, 1782, Official Letters of the Governors, III, 219.

³⁷ Letter from Rochambeau to Nelson, November 21, 1781, Rochambeau Papers, p. 185.

circumstances, attempted to evacuate them to Fredericksburg. On November 21, he sent two hundred of these able to travel by water to Fredericksburg.³⁸ Apparently this did not include all of the convalescents since David Ross, in a letter to Colonel Davies dated November 22, complained that many of the prisoners were recovered and were escaping. He stated that there existed no guard to prevent the latter.³⁹

Ross's adverse report of the conditions at Gloucester soon reached the ears of Colonel Joseph Holmes, a conscientious officer to whom Washington had assigned the internment camp at Winchester. Holmes informed Governor Harrison that the existence of such conditions was in direct violation of Washington's orders to remove the prisoners inland as rapidly as possible.⁴⁰ The Governor reacted immediately. His letter to the County Lieutenant of Gloucester, dated December 11, chastised the officer for his failure to properly execute earlier instructions and directed him "to order the strictest search" throughout the county for stragglers. The prisoners discovered, including those employed by local inhabitants, were to be forwarded to Fredericksburg under a militia escort.⁴¹ The removal of these prisoners left to be evacuated only those bedridden at Gloucester.

³⁸Letter from David Ross to Nelson, November 21, 1781, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 616.

³⁹Letter from Ross to Davies, November 22, 1781, in ibid., 617; Letter from John Robertson to Davies, December 7, 1781, ibid., 642.

⁴⁰Letter from Colonel Joseph Holmes to Harrison, December 8, 1781, ibid., 643.

⁴¹Letter from Harrison to the County Lieutenant of Gloucester, December 11, 1781, Official Letters of the Governors, III, 108.

As the Virginia Militia was exerting considerable effort to collect the scattered stragglers and escapes, at Yorktown Rochambeau was planning to free himself of the invalids who remained in the hospital. From the nature of the extent official records, he exchanged those who survived the winter for captured Frenchmen. The largest shipment of convalescents used in this manner left Yorktown on February 20, 1782, to be exchanged for French soldiers and sailors captured on the French cutter, Alerte, and the prize sloop, Bonetta.⁴² Rochambeau described the eighty British and German prisoners he sent to New York as "disabled and sick, most of them not in condition to serve any longer."⁴³ This exchange of prisoners, though not sanctioned by any cartel between the hostile armies, was approved by Washington and Congress.⁴⁴ The negotiations were not completed until August, 1782, by which time some talk of peace was already being voiced in London and Paris.

⁴²On her return from New York in November, 1781, Rochambeau dispatched the Bonetta to France with a load of sick and wounded French soldiers and sailors. Letter from Rochambeau to De Grasse, December 26, 1781, in photocopies of MS in Ministère de la Guerre, Paris, Correspondence, Vol. 3734, French Photostats, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, p. 179. The Bonetta was apparently recaptured by the British fleet during her crossing.

⁴³Letter from Rochambeau to Washington, February 19, 1782, ibid., p. 184; cf. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain (London, 1906), II, 396.

⁴⁴Washington was undoubtedly more than willing since, in addition to French prisoners, the exchanges resulted in the release of the Chevalier de Laumoy, one of the Continental Army's best Engineers. Colonel de Laumoy had been taken prisoner at the fall of Charleston, S.C., in 1780. Letters from Washington to the Secretary at War and to Rochambeau, August 16, 1782, in Fitzpatrick, ed, Writings of Washington, XXV, 26-28.

In addition to freeing a substantial number of men who otherwise might have perished at Gloucester, the final arrangements released two of Cornwallis' officers, Majors Greene and Timpany, who had been paroled to New York.⁴⁵ Though not interned with the main body of the British Army, the paroled officers were an integral part of the problem of evacuating the army which capitulated at Yorktown.

⁴⁵Letter from Rochambeau to General Sir Henry Clinton, December 9, 1781, the Rochambeau Papers, p. 190-191; H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, III, 49.

CHAPTER IV

THE DISPOSITION OF THE PAROLED OFFICERS

The disposition of the British and German officers, left behind at Yorktown after the main force of prisoners started their inland march, constituted a special problem. The procedure to be used in evacuating these men had been outlined in Article VI of the Articles of Capitulation, which specified that the officers were to go on parole to Europe or some British base in America. Transportation was to be provided within ten days by Count de Grasse, or in the event that the French could not supply sufficient vessels, the paroled officers were to receive passports to go by land to New York.

In addition to the above provisions, Article VIII of the terms of surrender had reserved to Cornwallis one of the British ships, the sloop, Bonetta, which was to carry his final dispatches to Clinton at New York. The Bonetta was to proceed with her original crew, carrying any men the British commander preferred not to surrender to the Continental forces. The latter provision had been demanded by Cornwallis in order to protect the lives of Loyalists and American deserters who were serving with his troops.

Due to the small number of men involved, Article VI and VIII were executed without the delay and confusion which attended the disposition

of the rank and file. Following the surrender ceremony, on October 19, the men whom Cornwallis had selected to leave on the Bonetta gathered at Gloucester¹ and from there went aboard the sloop. Four days later preparations for the ship's departure were completed and she sailed from Yorktown, clearing De Grasse's fleet in the bay on the twenty-fourth.² In addition to approximately two hundred and fifty deserters³ she carried the ailing Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe,⁴ who had commanded the Queen's Rangers, and Lieutenant Colonel Robert Abercrombie, to whom Cornwallis had entrusted his dispatches to General Sir Henry Clinton. The Bonetta arrived in New York on October 31.⁵

Even though Article VIII had assured the immunity of the passenger list of the sloop, she did not sail without some protest from the Americans. On October 20, before the departure, Nelson wrote Cornwallis that he had been "informed that a number of Refugees from this State [Virginia] and also Negroes" were attempting to escape on the vessel. Nelson requested that Cornwallis take measures to prevent any violation of the surrender agreement.⁶ If the British commander made any reply, it

¹British General and Brigade Orders, II, 61.

²Frederick Mackenzie, Diary of Frederick Mackenzie, ... an Officer of the Regiment of Royal Welch Fusiliers during the Years 1775-1781 (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), II, 683. Hereafter cited as Mackenzie, Diary.

³Ibid., 685. Many of the rank and file aboard were members of the Queen's Rangers. Lieutenant Colonel John G. Simcoe, Simcoe's Military Journal; a History of ... the Queen's Rangers (N.Y., 1844), 254.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Mackenzie, Diary, II, 683.

⁶Letter from Nelson to Cornwallis, October 20, 1781, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 560.

has not survived. When the Bonetta left on October 23, her departure was watched with dissatisfaction by some of the Americans, an attitude best expressed by Colonel Richard Butler who observed that she "fell down the river, with her iniquitous cargo of deserters, stolen negroes, and public stores that the British officers had secreted, in violation of treaty and in breach of honor...."⁷ Despite some such suspicions the Americans generally accepted Cornwallis's statement that the Bonetta did not violate the Articles of Capitulation.

While the foregoing events were taking place, Washington sought to speed up the evacuation of the prisoner officers. An early achievement of his goal was prevented by two complicating factors. First, he did not have available the ships needed to remove the men. Then, as he attempted to secure assistance in the form of shipping from De Grasse, a number of British officers protested the form of the parole presented them by Commissary Durie. The latter problem was the first resolved.

It had been customary for the Commissary of Prisoners to demand in the parole signed by the captured officers a statement that the signer, so long as he was on parole, pledged himself to report to any place required by Washington or an official representing him.⁸ Several officers in the Yorktown army protested to their commander that such a requirement deprived them of the benefits due them by their capitulation. Acting in their behalf, Cornwallis wrote Washington, requesting

⁷Richard Butler, "General Richard Butler's Journal of the Siege of Yorktown," Historical Magazine, VIII (March, 1864), 111.

⁸Cf. Journals of Continental Congress, IV, 119.

that he reconsider the form of the parole.⁹ The Continental Commander immediately replied that he was surprised that the officers objected to a clause which was "essential in every parole" and that he had no intention of complying with this request. Further, he suggested that Cornwallis advise the officers to sign the parole if they wanted to depart for New York and Europe.¹⁰ Washington's firmness must have been convincing since no evidence of further protestations has survived. Cornwallis signed his parole on October 28, and the final paragraph afforded ample proof of the futility of his earlier request.¹¹

Having settled the dispute over the parole, Washington turned his attention to the evacuation of the officers. The removal of the

⁹Letter from Cornwallis to Washington, October 27, 1781, Continental Army Returns, Washington Papers, Library of Congress, No. 106, fol. 18 3/4.

¹⁰Letter from Washington to Cornwallis, October 27, 1781, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, 274-275.

¹¹The final paragraph of Cornwallis' parole reads as follows:

Do pledge my Faith and Word of Honor, that I will not do or say any thing injurious to the Said United States or Armies thereof, or their Allies, until duly exchanged; I do further promise that whenever required, by the Commander in Chief of the American Army, or the Commissary of Prisoners for the same, I will repair to such place or places as they or either of them may require.

Given under my Hand at York Town 28th of October 1781

Cornwallis

Original in the Virginia State Library, photostatic copy on exhibit at the Swan Tavern, Colonial National Historical Park, Yorktown, Va.

northbound elements of the Continental Army to the upper Chesapeake required most of the available American transports; therefore, additional shipping had to be found among the privately owned vessels in the York River or those seized by De Grasse. Apparently prospects of obtaining the former were not too promising for on October 23, Washington wrote De Grasse requesting two vessels for use in transporting the officers.¹² His appeal to the French Admiral was supported by a letter from Rochambeau five days later.¹³ By the thirty-first their efforts had produced results, as on that date Washington instructed the Continental Commissaries of Supply to provision the vessels bound for New York.¹⁴ On November 3, the first of the ships left Yorktown,¹⁵ and by Monday the fifth, four more had sailed.¹⁶

Two of the five flags¹⁷ designated to carry the paroled officers to New York were the Lord Mulgrave and The Andrews, British transports which had been seized at Yorktown by the French navy. The Cochrane was privately owned but had been with the British fleet surrendered by

¹²Letter from Washington to De Grasse, October 23, 1781, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, 255-256.

¹³Letter from Rochambeau to De Grasse, October 28, 1781, the Rochambeau Papers, p. 178.

¹⁴Instructions to Colonel Ephraim Blaine and Charles Stewart, October 31, 1781, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, 313.

¹⁵Cf. Journal of Baron von Closen, I, 396.

¹⁶Letter from Washington to De Grasse, November 5, 1781, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, 337.

¹⁷Vessels traveling under a flag of truce were commonly referred to as flags or cartels throughout the Revolution.

Cornwallis.¹⁸ The two small sloops which completed the convoy were the Delight and the Molly, both probably belonging to colonial traders. The military personnel aboard the ships included Cornwallis, O'Hara and 237 lesser officers, the soldiers assigned to their military families, and their servants. They were accompanied by twenty-six Loyalist merchants who no longer desired to remain in Virginia. The distribution of the prisoners aboard ship, as established in the passports issued by Washington on November 4,¹⁹ was as follows:

<u>Cochrane</u> (or Cockran)	Cornwallis; 26 additional staff officers; 42 soldiers.
<u>Lord Mulgrave</u>	103 officers; 125 soldiers; servants.
<u>The Andrews</u>	101 officers; 118 soldiers; servants.
<u>Delight</u>	5 military commissaries; 1 commissary of prisoners (not a prisoner); 13 merchants.
<u>Molly</u>	3 officers; 13 merchants.

¹⁸Correspondence of General Washington and Comte de Grasse, 1781 August 17 - November 4, Senate Document No. 211, 71st Cong., 2nd. Sess., ed. Institut Francais de Washington (Washington, 1931), 125.

¹⁹Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, 337n. In addition to Cornwallis, the Cochrane is known to have carried General O'Hara, Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, and Lieutenant Bartholomew James, the latter of the Royal Navy. Journal of Baron von Closen, I, 396; John Knox Laughton, ed., Journal of Rear Admiral Bartholomew James, 1752 - 1828 (Navy Records Society: London, 1896), 129, 130, 131.

The departure of the ships mentioned accounted for all but three of the 240 officers of the British land forces, for whom Rochambeau had requested transportation.²⁰ The officers who were not available when the convey departed were Captains Apthorpe and Champagne of the Twenty-third Regiment, and Lieutenant Fraser of the Seventeenth Regiment. Taking advantage of a clause in Article VI of the terms of surrender which permitted them to go by land in the event of a shortage of shipping, the three men left Yorktown in the last week of October, arriving in New York on November 11.²¹ Washington tried to avoid having any of the paroled officers pass through the country side and though the prisoners carried passports he attempted unsuccessfully to bring them back to Yorktown.²²

The voyage northward from the Virginia Capes proved to be a trying one for the passengers on the cartels. Enroute they encountered heavy seas which separated the ships, each seeking the course best suited to ride out the storm. All of the vessels had been among those sunk or scuttled at Yorktown and apparently the passengers had little confidence in their seaworthiness.²³ During the gale one of the smaller vessels carrying Lieutenant Colonel Dundas and the other officers of the Eightieth Regiment began to take water and Dundas requested a transfer

²⁰Letter from Rochambeau to De Grasse, October 28, 1781, Rochambeau Papers, p. 178. There were actually 241 British officers, excluding naval prisoners, if Cornwallis is not included.

²¹Mackenzie, Diary, II, 692.

²²Cf. ibid., and 699.

²³Ibid., 699-700.

to The Andrew, a larger ship. On board the latter were all the German officers and several from the Queen's Rangers. Despite the protests of the Germans, the transfer was effected. The Andrew reached New York on November 24.²⁴

Notwithstanding the storm encountered, the Cochrane made good time, arriving on the nineteenth.²⁵ However, the Lord Mulgrave was not as fortunate. She lost contact with the convoy and for nearly three weeks the authorities in New York despaired of her survival.²⁶ Word finally reached them on December 11 that she had made port safely in Charleston,

²⁴Ibid., 700-701. There is no mention of the arrival of either the Delight or the Molly at New York. Since only the latter of the sloops was scheduled to carry officers, it is reasonable to assume that Dundas transferred from her. Similarly, from the evidence of two contemporary (probably somewhat exaggerated) reports, the Molly foundered off the New Jersey coast. Major William Croghan, in a letter to Colonel William Davies dated November 30, wrote, "Tis said a vessel with Forty British officers on parole from Virginia, for New York was over sett or wracked" near Egg Harbor and that "the whole perished." Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 627. Alexander Wall, citing the New Jersey Gazette for November 28, 1781, says that the wreck of a sloop carrying thirty or forty persons was reported on a bar off Corson's Inlet (just below Egg Harbor) and that papers found on the thirteen bodies which were recovered indicated that the men were prisoners on parole bound for New York from Virginia. Wall's The Story of the Convention Army, p. 28. Wall's assertion that these men were prisoners from Burgoyne's Army is groundless, all those troops having left Virginia before the siege of Yorktown. Mackenzie, Diary, II, 659).

²⁵Mackenzie, Diary, II, 698; Letter from Cornwallis to Rochambeau, November 25, 1781, Charles Ross, ed., Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis (London, 1859), I, 128.

²⁶Mackenzie, Diary, II, 699-703.

South Carolina.²⁷ Eight days later The John, a cartel from that port, arrived in New York bearing thirty of the Lord Mulgrave's passengers,²⁸ the others to follow as transportation became available.

Plans for the disposition of the paroled officers after their arrival at the British post had been completed by November 13. Regimental cantonments were appointed in various areas on Long Island and Staten Island.²⁹ Two weeks later, Sir Henry Clinton issued orders that one field officer, two captains and six subalterns of the prisoner regiments, including the officers interned, were to remain in America, the remainder to go to Europe. On the same day preparations for the departure of a European convoy were undertaken.³⁰

Due to the number of vessels to be provisioned and watered,³¹ it was not until December 2 that the first division of the convoy left the East River, and a week later before the ships began to form

²⁷Ibid., 704.

²⁸Ibid., 706.

²⁹Ibid., 694.

³⁰Ibid., 701. Excluding the Loyalist units assigned to Cornwallis' command, Clinton's orders would have required a total of 99 British officers to remain in America, 25 at New York and 74 with the interned prisoners. These totals compare favorably with the requests for subsistence payments by the regimental units as listed in H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, II, 376ff.

³¹Mackenzie says that the convoy consisted of about 130 ships and that nearly 100 officers went aboard as passengers. A majority of them were those paroled from Yorktown. Diary, II, 703-704.

in the lower New York harbor. Finally on December 15 the fleet passed through the Narrows and into the North Atlantic, escorted by two ships of the line, the Robuste and the Janus. After having been at sea only three days the fleet encountered high winds which increased in force until the convoy became hopelessly scattered. Because of the storm, the Robuste and the Janus were forced to turn back to the West Indies, and so the transports were left an ungarded prey for the enemy.³² For at least one of the ships the suggested fate was not long in coming.

On January 14, the transport, Greyhound,³³ carrying Cornwallis, his aides, and several other British officers, was overtaken and seized by a French privateer, the Boulogne. Julian Durontois, First Lieutenant of the latter, was made prize master of the Greyhound and ordered to take her into a French port. Under normal weather conditions the plan would have succeeded, but the storm continued to be the controlling factor. The Greyhound suffered considerable damage from the heavy seas and finally, on January 17, off Ram's Head on the English coast, Durontois bargained with his passengers. In effect, he extracted from the British officers a pledge of safe-conduct for himself, his crew and the ship in exchange for landing the prisoners at an English port.³⁴

³²Cf. ibid., 703-705.

³³Mackenzie incorrectly states that Cornwallis and his suite left New York aboard the Robuste. Diary, II, 704.

³⁴Earl Cornwallis, Document among correspondence in Cornwallis MSS Bundles 5, 6, and 7, British Reproductions, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. In addition to Cornwallis the agreement is signed by Lord Chewton, Major Alexander Ross and Lieutenant H. Haldane, aides-de-camp; Captain Thomas Tonken, Royal Navy; Captain Alexander Mercer, Engineers; J. Simpson, Secretary to the King's Commissioner; Major Henry Rooke, and Joseph Clarke, Master of the Greyhound.

The outcome of the above affair was not recorded in any of the available documents, however, the dates of the published correspondence of Lord Cornwallis indicate that the agreement was adhered to.³⁵ Some of the other ships in the scattered convoy had managed to reach England as early as January 5,³⁶ and, since none were reported to have turned back to an American base, the remainder probably reached the British Isles in late January or early February. Thus, except for those to whom Clinton had assigned American billets, pending the final disposition of the rank and file, all of the paroled officers had been evacuated by the first month of 1782.

³⁵Charles Ross, ed., Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis, I, 132ff.

³⁶Laughton, ed., Journal of Rear-Admiral Bartholomew James, 130.

CHAPTER V

THE INTERNMENT IN VIRGINIA, MARYLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA

During the same period in which most of the paroled officers were being removed from the North American scene, the main body of the Yorktown prisoners were discovering the hardships which were a part of living in the American internment camps. The period of confinement for these troops covered nearly eighteen months, ending with their release in April, 1783. However, the end of the war did not find the prisoners at the places to which they were originally assigned, nor were the complements of most of the regiments the same as when they were first interned. The story of the events which produced these changes falls naturally into two parts, the two months when the entire body was confined on the frontier and the period after the relocation of the men in January, 1782. Because the incidents of the former months established the pattern for those succeeding, it is that period which has received the greatest attention. Specifically, the narrative continues to follow the troops who left Yorktown under General Lawson. They were the largest group of the prisoners who were moved at one time and a relation of their activities in confinement best represents the final disposition of Cornwallis' army.

Winchester, the place at which Lawson's column arrived on November 5, was a frontier town of about three hundred buildings, among which were a courthouse, a recently built jail, five churches or chapels, and several warehouses, most of them constructed of hewn logs. The population

of the town and neighboring countryside was predominantly German, a circumstance that was later to prove beneficial to the prisoners.¹

The British and German troops were housed, as has already been mentioned, in the New Frederick Barracks outside of the town. The shelter which they found there was far from comfortable despite the diligent efforts of the local authorities to prepare adequate facilities. Immediately following the surrender at Yorktown, Governor Nelson had instructed Colonel John Smith, militia commander for Frederick County, to arrange quarters and guards for two thousand five hundred men. Due to Smith's absence at that time, the responsibility fell upon Colonel Joseph Holmes, Deputy Commissary of Prisoners. In two letters to the Executive, dated October 26, Holmes stated that he would summon and assume command of the militia guard, but that it would be impossible to provide adequate shelter for so many prisoners. The barracks already standing could house only eight hundred men conveniently, and there was little chance of securing local workmen to build additional cabins since they had not been paid for the work previously done. Holmes suggested that the troops be made to build their own cabins.²

¹Deehla, Tagebuch, 164. Good contemporary descriptions of Winchester can be found in Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, Travels through the United States of North America, ... in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797, trans. H. Neuman (London, 1799), II, 102-106; Ferdinand M. Bayard, Voyage dans l'interieur des Etats Unis, a Bath, Winchester, dans la Vallee de Shenandoah, ... pendant l'ete de 1791 (Paris, 1797), 188-190; Count Luigi Castiglioni, Viaggio negli Stati Uniti dell' America Settentrionale, fatto negli anni, 1785, 1786, e 1787 da Luigi Castiglioni, ... (Milano, 1790), I, 362-363.

²Letters from Holmes to Nelson and Colonel William Davis, October 26, 1781, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 569-570.

The conditions which Colonel Holmes reported had changed very little when the prisoners reached Winchester, although the problem of an adequate guard detail had been relieved by the arrival of General Muhlenberg's brigade of the Virginia Militia.³ On November 6, Holmes wrote the Chairman of the Virginia Board of War that about twenty-one hundred rank and file and forty officers had arrived the previous evening. His letter further stated that due to the lack of sufficient cabins one thousand of the men had to sleep out in the open stockade.⁴

Though far from satisfied with the condition of their future quarters, the men were too weary to make more than a verbal protest. The New Frederick Barracks were located in a hillside clearing, surrounded by forest. The quarters were a series of connected cabins built in two wings, one above the other. Throughout they were constructed of heavy logs, chinked with clay, poorly roofed and without windows or a sufficient number of doors. The fireplaces were poorly constructed, frequently filling the barracks with smoke and in no cabin was there a chair, bench, bed or blanket. Into these quarters the prisoners were crowded, thirty-two to thirty-six in a cabin, which left barely enough room for them to stand. Some idea of the feelings of the men can be gathered from Doehla's statement that they "were imprisoned like dogs," their rooms "worse than pigstys and dog kennels in Germany."⁵

³Doehla, Tagebuch, 165.

⁴Letter from Holmes to Davies, November 6, 1781, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 579.

The paroled officers did not remain at the barracks but found lodgings in the town. Cf. Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 70.

⁵Doehla, Tagebuch, 164-165; "Popp's Journal," 250.

The militia commander, being aware of the colder weather to come, urged the prisoners to repair the buildings for their own future comfort. Using "shovels, hatchets, and saws" borrowed from the neighboring farmers, they made many improvements during the initial week of their confinement,⁶ but when the first winter snow fell the men were still overcrowded.⁷ Some took advantage of the freedom granted them by the Commandant of the Barracks and obtained employment with the local inhabitants, thereby securing not only better living quarters but better food.⁸ The majority remained at the barracks and their continued distress became the source of one of the more interesting incidents during the internment.

By the middle of November the number of men at the barracks had been considerably increased by the arrival of the first convoy of convalescents and the detachment of the Twenty-third Regiment who had remained behind to help establish the hospital facilities at Gloucester Point.⁹ The future weeks promised additional men and certainly no improvement in the weather. In consequence of this situation Captain

⁶Doehla, Tagebuch, 165; "Popp's Journal," 250.

⁷Doehla, Tagebuch, 166.

⁸Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 67-68. Many of the prisoners, particularly among the Germans, were artisans or had formerly been apprenticed to weavers, carpenters, masons, tailors, shoemakers, etc., and were therefore in high demand as workmen. Doehla, Tagebuch, passim.

⁹This undoubtedly added one hundred and fifty to two hundred men to the total already present. Cf. above, 22. 24.

Graham, the senior British officer present, asked Colonel Holmes for permission to move some of the troops into a little-used church in Winchester. The Commissary of Prisoners consented and, accordingly, about five hundred men of the Seventy-sixth Regiment were removed to the church, thus relieving somewhat the congestion in the barracks. When the news of the transfer reached Brigadier General Daniel Morgan at "Saratoga," his home near the town, he promptly ordered Captain Graham to return the men to the barracks.¹⁰ The British officer was shocked to learn of Morgan's attitude and immediately wrote a letter of remonstrance in which he stated the full circumstances that had brought about the exchange of quarters.¹¹ On November 28 the same date as Graham's letter, Morgan responded, chastising the prisoners for their apparent inability to help themselves and informing Graham that Colonel Holmes had no authority to permit the men to reside in the town. Morgan further stated that he had informed General Washington of the happenings and that he felt certain that the Commander-in-chief would concur with his action in the matter.¹²

¹⁰Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 68.

¹¹Letter from Graham to Morgan, November 28, 1781, ibid., Appendix AA, 306-307.

¹²Letter from Morgan to Graham, November 28, 1781, ibid., 68-70. This letter and the one cited immediately above provide such an interesting sidelight on the internment, as well as on the characters of the two correspondents that both have been added in full in the Appendices below.

The immediate outcome of the above exchange of letters was not recorded by either of the correspondents. Soon afterward Graham had General Morgan to dinner at the house of Colonel Holmes. By this time rumors of the projected removal of the prisoners to Maryland and Pennsylvania had reached Winchester and perhaps over a full table the British officer gained permission to leave his men in the town until the anticipated change took place.¹³ Meanwhile a more serious situation confronted the officers.

The provisioning of both the prisoners and their guards was a problem for the local authorities from the time the troops first arrived. The Continental Congress had failed to provide adequate funds for the subsistence of the men and the Virginia people, already heavily taxed for the cost of the Yorktown campaign, were reluctant to endure additional privations for the benefit of their enemies. With the latter in mind, in its November session the General Assembly repealed the emergency statutes which had empowered the military to impress supplies. This action deprived the State officials of their only means of procuring provisions.¹⁴

¹³*Ibid.*, 70-71. Washington's reply to Morgan's letter respecting the affair thanked the latter for his interest in the matter but informed him that the prisoners were now under the supervision of Major General Lincoln, the Secretary at War, whom he understood had ordered Colonel James Wood to act on the matter.

¹⁴*Cf.* letter from the Virginia Delegates in Congress to the Governor of Virginia, n.d. (ca. November 18, 1781), Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 614; letter from Governor Harrison to the Virginia Delegates in Congress, December 1, 1781, Official Letters of the Governors, III, 103; letter from Harrison to General Daniel Morgan, December 11, 1781, *ibid.*, III, 108.

When the prisoners reached Winchester in the first week of November, the shortage of food supplies did not immediately affect them. The men still had "hard" money and with it they could supplement the basic ration¹⁵ by purchases from the inhabitants of the area.¹⁶ However, their funds were not inexhaustable and before many days had passed the prisoners were reduced to bartering their clothes and equipment for the offerings of the farmers and townspeople.¹⁷ But this medium of exchange had its limitations too, and unfortunately for the welfare of the men its expiration coincided with the repeal of the impressment articles. Hence, when the prisoners fell back on their basic ration, they found it inadequate for proper nourishment.

It was about this time, December 1, that Major Gordon, the field officer commanding the interned British regiments, visited Winchester. Taking cognizance of the condition of the troops, he

¹⁵The basic ration for the Continental Army, as established in the first year of the war, was as follows: corned beef or pork for four days, fresh beef for two, and salt fish for one, each ration of beef weighing two pounds, that of pork 18 ounces; for bread, when not provided, each man was permitted one pound of flour per day; three pints of dried peas or beans weekly and fresh vegetables when available; six ounces of butter or nine of lard per week and spruce beer or molasses daily, when obtainable. Cf. Washington's Orders, December 24, 1775, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, IV, 180.

This allowance varied, depending upon the locality, and despite the assurances of the Articles of Capitulation the prisoners at Winchester received only a small part of it; meat was available but could not be kept due to the scarcity of salt, and flour was at a premium.

¹⁶Doehla says that the men were able to purchase "bread, cheese, butter, eggs, ... turnips, potatoes, cabbages, brandy, punch, cider, rum, and beer in abundance." Tagebuch, 165.

¹⁷Doehla states that "many of the English negotiated and exchanged for rum, brandy, and whiskey their entire uniforms from head to foot and covered themselves afterwards only with their blankets or made themselves coats from the same, which they pulled over their bodies." Tagebuch, 166.

appealed to the local authorities for some improvement in their supplies, particularly requesting a regular issue of flour.¹⁸ Though his representations received the immediate attention of the county commissioners¹⁹ they produced little change in the situation and, thus finding his presence of no assistance, Gordon returned after two or three days to his quarters in Maryland.²⁰ In some cases individual officers were able to obtain funds to relieve the sufferings of their men,²¹ but in general the distressed state of the prisoners continued into January when they were moved to new places of confinement.²²

Meanwhile the State and Continental officials, recognizing the serious consequences of the above circumstances for both the prisoners and the country,²³ were making every effort to relieve the situation.

¹⁸Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 71. General Morgan, in a letter to Governor Harrison dated December 11, 1781, informed the latter that the prisoners rations were twenty days behind. See Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 646-647.

¹⁹On December 7, Major Robert Forsyth, Deputy Commissary General of Purchases for Virginia, wrote Colonel Davies that he planned to sell army flour in the lowland counties to secure funds for supplies to relieve the plight of the prisoners. See Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 642.

On December 14, in a letter to Governor Harrison, Forsyth stated that twelve to fourteen days had passed since his plan to sell flour was announced but no flour had come in. He further said that there was little prospect of any arriving in time to be of use. Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 658.

²⁰Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 71.

²¹On December 13, Major von Beust negotiated a loan with a Winchester merchant enabling the officer to provide for his men. Doehla, Tagebuch, 168.

²²On December 27, one of the Queen's Rangers noted the issuance of five days rations of beef but still no flour. Charles W. Heathcote, ed., "Diary of Jacob Smith -- American Born," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LVI (July, 1932), 264; letter from Captain Edmund Read to Harrison, January 5, 1782, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, III, 8.

²³The pressure of hunger and unsatisfactory quarters had increased the attempts of the prisoners to escape. Cf. below, 73.

The Secretary at War ordered Lieutenant Colonel Caleb North, of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, to take charge of the transfer of the men, at the same time empowering him to call on the Militia of Virginia and Maryland to provide escorts. North's instructions were first to prepare for the introduction of additional prisoners at the internment camps at Lancaster and York, in Pennsylvania, and at Frederick, Maryland, and then to proceed to Winchester, evacuating all of the men at the latter post. The British prisoners at Frederick and Winchester were to be transferred to Lancaster and York respectively and the Germans were to be concentrated in the vicinity of Frederick. At these posts the Congress had contracted with local merchants for their subsistence. In the event that the facilities in Maryland were inadequate, a part of the German troops were to be left at Winchester and removed later.²⁴

Colonel North undertook his mission with every confidence that he would have the full cooperation of the local inhabitants. Indeed, in Maryland he experienced little difficulty, the citizenry being more than willing to exchange what they considered a constant headache for a

²⁴Letter from Benjamin Lincoln to County Lieutenant of Frederick, December 12, 1781, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 653; letter from Washington to Lieutenant Colonel Moses Rawlings, December 12, 1781, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, 383-384; letter from North to the Executive of Virginia, January 6, 1782, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, III, 8.

The decision regarding the German troops stemmed from Washington's pronouncement early in the war that the former should not be considered too harshly since they had been forced to participate in the war. Throughout the conflict the Germans proved to be docile prisoners, showing little inclination to rejoin the British command. Cf. Edward J. Lowell, The Hessians and the Other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War (New York, 1884), 106.

very useful source of cheap labor.²⁵ In contrast, at Winchester, the Continental officer was confronted with a general reluctance on the part of the Virginians to assist him. At first the natives, resenting the hardships produced by the continuous presence of prisoners in their locality, had petitioned the Governor to relieve them of their burden. However, a rumor that the troops were soon to receive their back pay had been circulated prior to North's arrival²⁶ and the local people, eager to share in the soldiers' good fortune, now desired them to remain. Because of this change in the attitude of the inhabitants,

²⁵The antipathy of the Marylanders toward the British troops stemmed from an unfortunate series of circumstances occurring prior to the Yorktown campaign. With the advance of Cornwallis from the south, a body of the Convention prisoners had been moved from Virginia to Frederick, where due to the kindness of Colonel William Beatty, the resident Commissary of Prisoners, the troops and particularly the officers were permitted a considerable freedom of movement. This fraternization between the inhabitants and their enemies continued until May, 1781, when news reached them of the death of Captain William Beatty, in the previous month at the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill. The loss of a favorite son sobered the natives and they thereafter assumed a hostile attitude toward the prisoners. Resenting the change, the British responded with equal hostility, resorting to plunder, rape and other depredations. Finally, after repeated petitions by the citizens, in September, 1781, the enlisted men were transferred to Pennsylvania and their officers to Connecticut. The arrival of the British troops captured at Yorktown found little change in the local situation. Lucy Leigh Bowie, The Ancient Barracks at Fredericktown (Frederick, Md., 1939), 19-21; Roger Lamb, Journal, 395-396.

²⁶On November 30, 1781, General Sir Henry Clinton requested a passport for a Deputy Paymaster to carry two thousand pounds sterling to the British officers at Frederick and Winchester. Letter from Clinton to Washington, H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain, II, 356. His request was granted on December 6. Letter from Washington to Clinton, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, 373. In spite of this permission to pass through the lines, the paymaster did not reach the troops until after their transfers had been effected in February, 1782. Cf. below, 62-63.

Colonel Holmes had difficulty in securing a sufficient number of militia-men to escort the prisoners to Maryland.²⁷ Despite the protestations of the Virginians, preparations went forward and by January 24, the plans had been completed. On that date Holmes, who had been assigned the command of the escort, wrote Colonel James Wood²⁸ that the troops would march in two divisions, the British in one and the Anspachers in another. This division of the troops had been adopted in consideration of the coldness of the weather, with the expectation that the smaller groups, one leading the other, would more easily find shelter on the road. Describing the condition of the prisoners, Holmes noted that many are almost as naked as the hour they were born, & not an ounce of animal food. Whether you could not with propriety detain them a few days, or one half of them, then there might be a chance of getting into some sort of shelter at night. It seems to shock the feelings of humanity to drive out of a warm habitation a poor creature stark naked in such a season.²⁹

The militia officer's sympathy for the captives did not delay their departure, and on the morning of January 27 the British column left Winchester, the Germans following a few hours behind them.³⁰

²⁷Letter from Colonel John Smith to Governor Harrison, January 5, 1782, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, III, 7; letter from Holmes to Colonel William Davies, January 6, 1782, ibid., III, 9; Communications of Inhabitants of Frederick County to the Governor, January 8, 1782, ibid., III, 12; letter from Harrison to Smith, January 10, 1782, Official Letters of the Governors, III, 124.

²⁸Colonel Wood had been appointed Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners, to supervise any prisoners who remained at Winchester.

²⁹Letter from Holmes to Wood, January 24, 1782, Anonymous, "As Others Saw Us," Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine, I (July, 1921), 13.

³⁰Doehla, Tagebuch, 170; "Popp's Journal," 250. Major Rowland Broughton-Mainwaring, citing the no-longer-extant Journal of Captain Thomas Saumarez, says that the 23rd Regiment left Winchester on January 12. Though not impossible, this is unlikely. Cf. Historical Record of the Royal Welch Fusiliers (London, 1889), 106.

Left behind them at Winchester were those too ill to be moved and many who had deserted the barracks to find a means of surviving the winter.³¹ To accurately number the latter would be impossible because of the dearth of public records recounting their activities. On February 1, in a report to Ephraim Blaine estimating the monthly cost of supplies necessary for the remaining prisoners and their guards, the resident Assistant Commissary of Purchases requested rations for six hundred men.³² In view of the number of convalescents yet to arrive, many of them scattered through the counties between Yorktown and Winchester,³³ it seems logical to assume that at least one half of the rations were destined for prisoners. In May, 1782, Colonel Holmes reported that one hundred men were still under guard at Winchester and allowed to remain there as part of the Continental quota for Virginia.³⁴

³¹Apparently there is no complete set of statistics giving the total number of deaths or desertions at Winchester. In his Journal, Doehla noted that in the period November 1, 1781 -- January 27, 1782, ten men of the Bayreuth Regiment died and nine deserted, some of the latter joining the State Militia. Additional victims were the wives of two of the soldiers. The loss in military personnel represented 4.2 per cent of the regiment's complement. Tagebuch, 165-170; cf. Roger Lamp, Journal, 397.

³²Memorandum from F. Tate, Assistant Commissary of Purchases to Ephraim Blaine, February 1, 1782, in Ephraim Blaine Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Ephraim Blaine was Commissary General of Purchases for the Continental Army from January 1, 1780 to July 24, 1782.

³³Cf. above, 28-32.

³⁴Letter from Holmes to Colonel William Davies, May 21, 1782, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, III, 173.

On December 25, 1782, Doehla noted in his Journal the arrival at Frederick from Virginia of three hundred British troops who had been at Yorktown. Tagebuch, 187

Of the troops who left Winchester on January 27, only the Germans kept a daily record of their march north. The route before them covered about forty-five miles and led across the swift-running waters of the upper Potomac River. The raggedness of their dress, many of them having neither shoes nor stockings, made the march in the bitter cold weather a gruelling experience. On their first day out, they traveled twelve miles and that night slept in a snow-covered field. The next morning, Monday the twenty-eighth, they moved up to Opequan Creek, a distance of nine miles, forded the stream and proceeded on in the direction of Charlestown. That night, at least three of the English troops were frozen to death and the feet of many of the men were frost-bitten. Finally, on the twenty-ninth, they reached the Potomac, regarded as the half-way mark to Frederick. The intense cold had turned the river into a solid block of ice, forming a natural bridge. Because of the late hour of their arrival, the crossing was postponed until morning and the soldiers spent the night under the brow of a wind-swept hill above Shepherdstown. Wednesday morning, Colonel Holmes led the column across the frozen river and beyond into the little town of Sharpsburg where, for the first time, the men had some respite from their sufferings. The inhabitants not only provided the troops with warm food but were able to offer many of them shelter for the night. On Thursday, the thirty-first, the column covered the remaining twenty-one miles to their destination.³⁵

³⁵Doehla, Tagebuch, 170-172; "Popp's Journal," 250-251; Harold Clem, "A Hessian Prisoner's Memoirs of Frederick in 1782-1783," The Maryland Bulletin, LXVII (February, 1947), 55-56, hereafter cited as Clem, "Hessian Memoirs." Professor Clem's article contains translated excerpts from the diary of Lieutenant Johann Ernst Prechtel of the Anspach Regiment. The original is in the Bavarian Archives in Munich, Germany.

At Frederick the troops were quartered for the night in the enclosure surrounding the Frederick Barracks, about one half mile from the town, their final disposition to be settled the following morning. In accordance with the instructions from Congress, on February 1, the British prisoners started for Lancaster and York in Pennsylvania, arriving there about the tenth of the month.³⁶ Their route took them across the Monocacy River, northward through Taneytown, Littlestown, and McAlisterstown (now Hanover) to where they intersected the great colonial highway that connected Philadelphia with the western lands around Fort Pitt. Here, at York, the regiments who had previously resided at Winchester were lodged in newly constructed huts surrounded by a high stockade. In sight of their quarters, though situated on higher ground, stood a similar camp occupied by about four hundred men from the Convention Army. Because of the liberties granted the latter, in contrast to the close confinement of the Yorktown prisoners, the new arrivals named the camp of the Convention troops "Camp Indulgence" and their own, "Camp Security." The prisoners billeted at Frederick marched twenty miles beyond York to Lancaster, on the north bank of the Susquehannah River. There the troops found a well-built barracks that had served as the Continental Army's central prison camp for almost five years. It, too, was surrounded by a high log stockade, this one

³⁶Apparently some of the British regiments stationed at Frederick had left prior to the arrival of the Winchester column for an inhabitant of Lancaster reported their arrival near the latter town on January 11, 1782. Letter from Ester Atlee to William Atlee, in the Atlee Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

having blockhouses at each corner and one entrance to the yard which encircled the barracks. Here, and at York, the British prisoners were closely guarded by troops of the Continental Line.³⁷

Shortly after the arrival of the troops in Pennsylvania, and due primarily to their regimental paymaster, the men of the Seventy-sixth Regiment were issued new shoes. Learning of their good fortune, an enterprising Irish trooper of the Forty-third Regiment asked Captain Graham if he could have a pair. The officer informed him that, in light of his behaviour during their confinement at Winchester,³⁸ the request showed surprising impudence. To this the soldier responded with the following answer:

Your honour, ask the Guardsmen, ask your own soldiers, if ever they have been in want of tobacco since I entered the Colonel's store, and your honour knows we have had no money to buy it; no, no, Pat Sullivan is no deserter, but I had my reasons for not telling the officers; and there was no great harm in taking a few more hogsheads of tobacco and giving it to my starving comrades.³⁹

Fortunately for the welfare of Pat and the other troops at York and

³⁷Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 71-73; Roger Lamb, Journal, 397; Sir John Ross, ed., Memoirs ... of Admiral Lord de Saumarez, II, 341; letter from Washington to Brigadier General Moses Hagen, December 6, 1781, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, 374.

³⁸The soldier had left his quarters at the barracks, without the proper permission, to obtain employment in town. During their stay in Winchester he lodged with Colonel Holmes, as did Captain Graham. Because the trooper had not received a pass from the officer commanding the Forty-third Regiment, Graham had regarded him as a deserter.

³⁹Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 72-73.

Lancaster, Herman Ryland, a Deputy Paymaster General, arrived from New York around February 15. He remained with the men and thereafter their needs were regularly provided for.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, in Maryland, the German regiments were being established in their new quarters. The Frederick Barracks, into which the Germans moved after the British troops departed, was a stone casern built in two L-shaped wings, each having two floors.⁴¹ The Anspach and Bayreuth troops were assigned to one wing, equally sharing the choice of floor space and with a resident officer's rooms separating their quarters. Similarly quartered in the adjacent wing were the Hessian regiments, Bose and Prince Hereditaire.⁴² Though the barracks assigned the men provided better shelter than that which they had previously enjoyed they continued to be crowded and sought to relieve this condition by erecting log huts. When they left Frederick in 1783, about one hundred such structures stood in the enclosure surrounding the barracks.⁴³

Unlike the British troops who had received both money and supplies soon after their arrival in Pennsylvania, the soldiers confined at Frederick had to wait almost three months for relief from New York.

⁴⁰Ibid., 73-74; H.M.C. Report on American Manuscripts, II, 392-398.

⁴¹Bowie, The Ancient Barracks at Fredericktown, 8, 9 and 23; Clem, "Hessian Memoirs," 56.

One wing of the old barracks still stands on the grounds of the Maryland School for the Deaf and has been set aside as a national shrine.

⁴²The Hessian regiments had first been quartered several miles from Frederick in the yard of Port Frederick, in Washington County, Md. Later, for security purposes, they were moved to the poorhouse within the town and on February 1, they joined the Anspachers at the Frederick Barracks. "Popp's Journal," 252. During the months succeeding, the poorhouse was used as a hospital. Doshla, Tagebuch, 174ff.

⁴³"Popp's Journal," 252; Doshla, Tagebuch, 174; Bowie, The Ancient Barracks at Fredericktown, 27.

Once again a predominantly German population was the salvation of the prisoners. Many of the local inhabitants had migrated from the same continental provinces which the soldiers called home. Hence, those Marylanders were more than willing to lessen the hardships of their countrymen. Neighboring farmers invited the men to their farms, offering them food and shelter in exchange for labor, and the troops who exhibited a talent for craftsmanship readily found employment in Frederick or some other nearby town. But these aids were not sufficient to fill the needs of nearly two thousand men, many of them having with them wives and children.⁴⁴ Consequently, after waiting four weeks for their supplies to arrive, Major von Beust sent his adjutant to Lancaster to report their circumstances to Major Gordon. The latter forwarded a request for provisions to New York and late in April the Germans not only received their personal baggage, transported by water to Baltimore and shipped across Maryland in wagons, but on April 30 they were given five months pay and a liberal allotment of clothes, cooking utensils, and other necessities.⁴⁵ Thereafter, the garrison received additional shipments of supplies periodically, and, to prevent another food shortage similar to that at Winchester, funds were sent to their officers to purchase provisions. Hence, by May, 1782, the Germans were as adequately provided for as the British.

⁴⁴"Popp's Journal," 250; Doehla, Tagebuch, 165-176; Bowie, The Ancient Barracks at Fredericktown, 22; Herrmann Schuricht, History of the German Element in Virginia (Baltimore, 1898), I, 149; Max von Belking, The German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence 1776-1783, trans. Joseph G. Rosengarten (Albany, N.Y., 1893), 217.

⁴⁵Doehla, Tagebuch, 177; "Popp's Journal," 252; Clem, "Hessian Memoirs," 56.

With the establishment of the prisoners in the internment camps in Maryland and Pennsylvania in the spring of 1782, their disposition had been accomplished to the satisfaction of both the American and the British commanding generals.⁴⁶ No further major alteration in their location was ordered by the military authorities until after the signing of the peace treaty the following year.

⁴⁶Cf. Journals of Continental Congress, XVI, 383-384; H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, II, 161; ibid., III, 40.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The final settlement of the prisoners in what was to be their permanent quarters during the internment had required nearly four months. The five chapters preceding have related the main events of that period. Together, the story they contain had fulfilled the requisites set forth in the introduction of the narrative. However, before the captive troops regained their freedom another fifteen months were to pass, and though the happenings of those months did not directly concern the ordered disposition of the men, they represented a significant part of the prisoner's experiences. As such they offer the most fitting conclusion to this study.

Shortly after the surrender at Yorktown, General Sir Henry Clinton had proposed the arrangement of a cartel for a general exchange of prisoners.¹ Initially, the plan was to exchange American prisoners taken at the fall of Charleston for troops who surrendered at Yorktown. In spite of an unwillingness to see British veterans returned to their lines, Washington was induced by constant political pressure to consent to such a cartel. Hence, in late November, 1781, commissioners representing the hostile armies began negotiations at Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Almost at once they encountered difficulties which were to plague them for more than a year. Clinton claimed that he had no authority to grant a carte blanche approval of all captured

¹H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, II, 354.

Americans as prisoners eligible for exchange since many had been serving in a civil capacity. A further complication arose from the nonexistence of a captured American officer equal in rank to Cornwallis. While the commissioners haggled over the former problem, the latter began to assume complexities that eventually stalemated all negotiations. A group of Southern delegates in Congress, taking advantage of the delay in the exchange proceedings, instigated the passage of a secret resolve which prohibited the exchange of Cornwallis by composition.² Washington was notified that the British officer was not to be relieved of his parole, and he in turn sent word to Clinton. When the latter received the news, he promptly informed his representatives that the exchange of Cornwallis was to be a sine qua non to any agreement. As a result, the negotiations were terminated, not to be reopened until the following spring.³

In March, 1781, Washington succeeded in persuading Congress to repeal the resolve concerning Cornwallis,⁴ and, by April, the Commissioners had resumed their work. But once more they were to be

²The prejudice of the delegates seems to have arisen from their rage over the depredations committed by Northern Loyalists under Cornwallis' command during the Southern campaign.

³Details of the various communications between the two commands may be found in Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, passim, and H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, II, passim.

⁴Letter from Washington to the President of Congress, February 20, 1782, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIV, 9-12; Journals of Continental Congress, XXII, 95.

interrupted by a failure of the commands to agree on general policy. The confinement and provisioning of such a large number of British prisoners had required funds which the American Congress could ill-afford. Consequently, Washington's representatives demanded two hundred thousand pounds sterling to settle all accounts. To this the British commissioners refused to agree, and as a counter-proposal, suggested that in the future each country subsist its own men through agents located near the internment camps. At the same time they proposed that the Americans accept a ransom for all the British prisoners now held in captivity. The American commissioners refused to consider the proposition, and so about April 15, the conference ended.⁵

The termination of the negotiations coincided with an incident which was to create so much turmoil that it occupied the full attention of the two armies for more than five months. Frequently during the war, the divided loyalties of the citizens of New Jersey had resulted in armed conflict between former neighbors. The patriot participants in the numerous raids that ensued followed the leadership of the New Jersey militia, while those still loyal to the crown acted under the Board of Associated Loyalists who were seated in New York. On the night of March 24, 1782, a company of Loyalist troops surprised the Tom's River blockhouse in New Jersey, and carried off as prisoner its commander, Captain Joshua Huddy. Huddy was put in irons in New York for two weeks and then returned to

⁵Cf. H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, II, 449-450.

Monmouth County, New Jersey, supposedly for purposes of exchange. However, instead of exchanging him, his captors hanged him on a public highway, afterwards affixing to his body a placard stating that he had been executed for the murder of one Philip White.

Huddy was quite popular and when the local inhabitants discovered his body, they insisted that Washington demand the executor so that he might be punished, asserting that White's death had been an accident. The American commander immediately notified Clinton of the circumstances and requested the surrender of the guilty person. The British general refused to give up Captain Lippincott, the officer who had commanded the Loyalist party, but he did agree to see justice done. Subsequently, Lippincott was arrested on the charge of murder and ordered to be tried by court-martial. Though Clinton's action aroused the Loyalist troops to the point of rebellion, he persisted, as did Sir Guy Carleton who arrived to assume command of the British forces amid the furor over the incident. When Lippincott came before the military tribunal, he claimed first that they had no jurisdiction over his activities in New Jersey and secondly, that he had acted under orders from the Board of Associated Loyalists. His plea resulted in an acquittal.

In the meantime, the fury of the citizenry of Monmouth County had been fanned to unreasonable extremes by local patriots. As a result, when the news of Lippincott's acquittal reached them, they called upon Washington to retaliate. Under this pressure, Washington turned to his corps and division commanders for advice. Their response was that an unconditional, captive British officer, of rank equivalent

to that of Huddy, should be chosen by lot, and, in the event that Carleton did not offer satisfaction for Huddy's death, the captive was to be hung. On May 3, Washington ordered the decision carried out, and, on June 2, Captain Charles Asgill of the Guards was designated the prospective victim.

The choice of Asgill added new complications to the already involved affair. He was one of the Yorktown prisoners and as such supposedly protected by the Articles of Capitulation. Furthermore, Asgill was the son of an English family which enjoyed considerable favor with the ruling monarchs of both Great Britain and France. When the news that Washington intended to go through with the retaliatory act reached England, Asgill's family appealed to both sovereigns for intervention. As a result, the French ambassador presented a remonstrance to the American Congress, which demanded the officer's release. Faced with this representation from France, the Congress complied, and, in November, 1782, they permitted Asgill to pass to New York from which point he sailed for home. With Asgill's release the Huddy incident was closed, and Washington turned to more pressing problems.⁶

⁶No satisfactory description of the Huddy incident has yet been written. The most detailed account available is a highly colored narrative by Katherine Mayo. General Washington's Dilemma (New York, 1938). Almost all of the contemporary diarists recorded the highlights of the affair. The best American version of the proceedings is that of James Thacher, A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783 (2nd ed.: Boston, 1827), 302-310. Contemporary British accounts may be found in Roger Lamb, Journal, 417-434; Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 75-104. Washington's letters to Clinton, Carleton, the Congress and others, concerning the affair, have been published. Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIV and XXV, *passim*. Many of the British communications are listed in H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, III, *passim*.

In September, 1782, a third attempt was made to arrange a cartel for the exchange of prisoners. Cornwallis had been relieved of his parole on June 28,⁷ previous, and was no longer a block to the proceedings. Also, due to a change in the British ministry, American captives were now recognized as prisoners of war,⁸ and all of those formerly imprisoned in England had been returned to North America by August, 1782.⁹ Thus, a second point of contention had been removed. Still the question of the unpaid British accounts remained to complicate the negotiations of the bargaining commissioners. When it became apparent that the Americans would insist upon a financial settlement before discussing a general cartel, the British commissioners proposed an exchange of all the American officers taken at Charleston and afterwards, for an equivalent number of the British and German officers who surrendered at Yorktown.¹⁰ After several weeks of deliberations the commissioners concurred on the merits of this proposition and a number of the

⁷Letter from Benjamin Franklin to Robert Livingston, June 28, 1782, Francis Wharton, ed., Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States (Washington, 1889), V, 525.

⁸Letter from Franklin to John Jay, April 24, 1782, Albert H. Smyth, ed., The Writings of Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1907), VIII, 434-435.

⁹Letter from Franklin to Livingston, July 22, 1783, ibid., IX, 72.

¹⁰H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, III, 135-136. This proposal was to be based upon an exchange tariff settled at Perth Amboy in March, 1780.

Yorktown officers were freed.¹¹ The good fortune of the officers was not extended to the rank and file of the Yorktown prisoners who continued in their appointed places of confinement until the cessation of hostilities.¹²

Although no exchange was arranged for the several thousand imprisoned British and German soldiers, many of them did succeed in gaining their freedom before the end of the war. This was accomplished in various ways. The easiest way for the troops to escape their confinement was to enlist in the military units of one of the American states, or in the Continental Army. Washington and Congress, fearing the unreliability of such recruits, at first attempted to prevent this. However, by April, 1782 Washington had changed his mind and he suggested the enlistment of a limited number of the German prisoners.¹³ This idea was favorably received by Congress and he was authorized to enlist German troops for three years service. The new recruits were to receive a small bounty and to become American citizens upon their enlistment.¹⁴

¹¹Cf. Letter from Washington to the Secretary at War, October 7, 1782, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXV, 240-241; H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, III, 139. The only officers mentioned were several members of Cornwallis' staff: Major England, Captain Fage, Lieutenant Sutherland, Lieutenant Stratton, Lieutenant Campbell, and Commissary Coffin. Three of his aides-de-camp, Lord Chewton, Major Ross and Lieutenant Maldane, had been released earlier.

¹²Letter from Washington to Robert Morris, December 11, 1782, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXV, 418; H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, III, 190.

¹³Because of their closer attachment to the service, the British troops were not considered reliable recruits.

¹⁴Letter from Washington to the Secretary at War, April 27, 1782, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIV, 175-176; Journals of Continental Congress, XXII, 275, 317.

A second means by which the prisoners could gain their freedom was to hire themselves out to an American employer. This practice had been adopted early in the war, and in 1781-82, the Yorktown troops found it especially valuable as a means of survival.¹⁵ Others used the employment as a way of escaping to the British lines. As a result, in the first week of June, 1782, Congress instructed General Benjamin Lincoln to call in all of the prisoners and to keep them closely confined until some regulation respecting their employment could be passed.¹⁶ The issuance of these orders brought so many protests from the people who had employed the captive troops, that before the end of the month Congress passed rules permitting the hiring of the men. In the future, a citizen who wished to employ one of the prisoners would have to be bonded by the Bank of North America, and, should the prisoner escape, the bond would be forfeited. Further, the subsistence of the hired man would be the responsibility of the employer. In the event that the employee decided to become a citizen of the United

¹⁵Cf. above, 59, 64.

¹⁶Journals of Continental Congress, XXII, 321.

One of the prisoners at Frederick copied the following order into his journal:
Beginning the 4th of June, no one is allowed any longer to give shelter to one of the prisoners of war. In case of violation, the guilty person must pay the sum of five hundred Pounds Sterling, and in case he is not able to pay he must serve as a marine on an American ship for three years. In case his health does not permit this, he will be punished with thirty nine stripes. Clem, "Hessian Memoirs," 56.

States, he would be able to do so by paying to the Bank of North America eighty Spanish milled dollars or its equivalent in other specie.¹⁷ Though the British troops were frequently employed as laborers there is no indication that any appreciable number of them became citizens. By way of contrast, more than a hundred of the Anspachers confined at Frederick availed themselves of the opportunity during the winter of 1782-83.¹⁸

To accurately enumerate the prisoners who became citizens by one of the above means would be impossible. Historians have estimated that as many as 12,544 German troops remained in the United States at the end of the war. While many of these were casualties, no less than 5,000 accepted citizenship.¹⁹ The preceding paragraph has given some indication of the number of Yorktown prisoners who purchased their citizenship. No record of the total number of those who enlisted has survived. The heaviest enlistment seems to have been between September 1 and November 1, 1782. In that period Lieutenant Prechtel recorded the enlistment of sixty-two men from the four regiments quartered at Frederick.²⁰ The best example of the losses for any

¹⁷Journals of Continental Congress, XXII, 243-244; Clem, "Hessian Memoirs," 56-57; Doehla, Tagebuch, 183.

¹⁸Cf. Doehla, Tagebuch, 183-198. They represented about 12 per cent of the complements of the Anspach and Bayreuth Regiments.

¹⁹Cf. Lowell, The Hessians and Other Auxiliaries, 300; G.W. Greene, The German Element in the War of American Independence (New York, 1876), 210.

²⁰Clem, "Hessian Memoirs," 57. Doehla names an additional thirty-one men who enlisted during the period of confinement. Tagebuch, passim.

single group was that of the two Anspach regiments. Of the 2,353 Anspach officers and men who were brought over from Germany before the Yorktown campaign, only 1,183 returned home at the close of the war. The ones remaining, who had not died in battle or during the internment, probably became American citizens.²¹

A final means by which the prisoners could gain their freedom from the internment camps was to escape outright.²² This method was used chiefly by the British. Besides pretending to accept employment in the neighborhood of the prison camp, the men sometimes feigned illness in order to be left poorly guarded. Once clear of the internment area, the escapees found many Loyalists to assist them in reaching the British lines.²³ As an inducement to their men to escape, the British command offered at first one and a half gold guineas and later two guineas to men who succeeded in eluding the Americans. From the sums allotted for the payment of this bounty between the fall of 1781 and March, 1783, nearly three hundred of the Yorktown prisoners must have escaped.²⁴

²¹Cf. Friedrich Kapp, Der Soldatenhandel Deutscher Fürsten nach Amerika 1775-1783 (Berlin, Germany, 1874), 209-210.

²²The most spectacular escapee among the Yorktown prisoners was Roger Lamb. Between October 19, 1781, and January 15, 1782, he eluded his captors on three different occasions, but each time was returned to the internment area. Then, during the relocation of the prisoners in late January, 1782, he escaped a fourth time and successfully made his way from Winchester, Virginia, to the British encampment on Long Island. He arrived at the latter place on March 23. The details of his escapes are given in his Journal, 389-413.

²³Cf. H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, III, 14; IV, 385 and 440.

²⁴Cf. ibid., III, 105 and 417; Mackenzie, Diary, II, 694, 702-703.

When the end of the war brought about the liberation of the prisoners in April, 1783,²⁵ approximately 6000 persons remained at the internment camps. Of these, 4500 were in Pennsylvania and 1500 in Maryland and Virginia.²⁶ Although no general cartel was ever agreed upon, Washington must have used nearly 150 of the Yorktown troops, principally British, in making up exchanges by composition for American officers. Of the 4500 persons remaining at York, Lancaster and other Pennsylvania stations, 400 were from the Convention Army and apparently less than 100 were women and children.²⁷ Therefore about 4000 of Cornwallis' troops were still confined. This meant that approximately 156 of the 4789 British and Loyalist troops originally scheduled to be interned either died before the conclusion of the peace or were exchanged.

Of the 1500 persons reported to be at Winchester and Frederick, probably only two-thirds of the number were prisoners taken at Yorktown. A total of 1887 officers and men of the four Anspacher and Hessian regiments were interned. Applying Kapp's estimation of a 46 per cent loss among the German mercenaries,²⁸ either 868 of the soldiers accepted

²⁵Journals of Continental Congress, XXIV, 241-242 and 960; Doehla, Tagebuch, 196; Clem, "Hessian Memoirs," 57.

²⁶Letter from Washington to Carleton, April 19, 1783, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXVI, 341.

²⁷The families of most of the British troops were sent to New York in July, 1782, when Congress refused to subsist them further with the prisoners. Cf. Journals of Continental Congress, XXII, 323-324.

²⁸Kapp, Den Soldatenhandel Deutscher Fursten nach America, 209.

American citizenship or died during the internment. Only five were listed as having successfully escaped. This left a total of 1014 remaining in April, 1783. The persons between that figure and the 1500 reported by Washington were either the families of the troops²⁹ or other prisoners who had been sent in from the prison stations elsewhere in Virginia and the Southern States.

Soon after their freedom was proclaimed, the Yorktown troops received orders to move to New York where they were to embark for Europe. The German regiments left Frederick on May 13, proceeding by way of York, Lancaster, Philadelphia, Trenton and Princeton. They reached New York on May 24.³⁰ The British and Loyalist units followed from Pennsylvania by the first week in June.³¹ In August, the Germans and all of the British soldiers, whose regimental commands had been transferred home, departed for England.³² Three of the Yorktown regiments,

²⁹ Many of the German troops had married during the 1777-1778 campaigns in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and after the spring of 1782 there was a constant stream of wives coming from New York to join their husbands. Other troopers found mates during the confinement among the German population of the frontier regions of Maryland and Virginia. Cf. Doehla, Tagebuch, *passim*.

³⁰ Doehla, Tagebuch, 197; Clem, "Hessian Memoirs," 57; "Popp's Journal," 253.

³¹ Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 105. The Loyalist troops sailed from New York for Nova Scotia on September 21. Heathcote, ed., "Diary of Jacob Smith," 264.

³² Doehla, Tagebuch, 206-208; "Popp's Journal," 253.

the Twenty-third, the Seventy-sixth, and the Eightieth, stayed behind, presumably to complete the evacuation of the former British post.

This last remnant of Cornwallis' army sailed for home in January of 1784.³³

³³Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 105, 110; Broughton-Mainwaring, Historical Record of the Royal Welch Fusiliers, 107.

· APPENDICES ·

APPENDIX A

A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE BRITISH ARMY THAT SURRENDERED AT YORKTOWN

The totals listed below are taken from the returns prepared by Thomas Durie and include, in addition to the troops who surrendered on October 19, 1781, the men who were captured in the outer redoubts (No. 9 and No. 10) on the fourteenth and those taken during the sortie on October 16. Cf. Durie's return in the Papers of the Continental Congress, Letters of Washington, X, Part I, 331, in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

BRITISH REGIMENTS

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Officers</u>	<u>Rank and File</u>
General and Staff	14	---
Artillery	11	198
Brigade of Guards	18	507
Light Infantry	29	640
17th Regiment	17	227
23rd Regiment	7	221
33rd Regiment	10	249
43rd Regiment	12	345
71st Regiment	24	340
76th Regiment	28	684
80th Regiment	29	671
British Legion	<u>18</u>	<u>216</u>
	217	4298

GERMAN REGIMENTS

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Officers</u>	<u>Rank and File</u>
2 Anspach Regiments	45	1005
Prince Hereditaire	16	455
Regiment de Bose	10	333
Yagers	<u>4</u>	<u>69</u>
	75	1862

LOYALIST REGIMENTS

Queen's Rangers	38	277
North Carolina Volunteers	23	121
Pioneers	5	37
Miscellaneous Loyalists (includes small numbers from Loyal Foresters, 3rd New Jersey Volunteers, New York Volunteers, Virginia Volunteers, King's American Regiment, Delancey's Battalion, and the North Carolina Independent Company	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>
	79	445
	<u>371</u>	<u>6605</u>
Total (combat personnel)		
Auxiliary personnel attached to above regiments.		<u>195</u>
Grand Total		<u>7171</u>

APPENDIX B

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION

(Original in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.)

The Articles of Capitulation settled between his Excellency General Washington, commander-in-chief of the combined forces of America and France; his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, lieutenant general of the armies of the King of France, great cross of the royal and military order of St. Louis, commanding the auxiliary troops of his most Christian Majesty in America; and his Excellency the Count de Grasse, lieutenant general of the naval armies of his most Christian Majesty, commander-in-chief of the naval army of France in the Chesapeake on the one part: And the Right Honorable Earl Cornwallis, lieutenant general of his Britannic Majesty's forces, commanding the garrisons of York and Gloucester; and Thomas Symonds, Esquire, commanding his Britannic Majesty's naval forces in the York River, in Virginia, on the other part.

ARTICLE I

The garrisons of York and Gloucester, including the officers and seamen of his Britannic Majesty's ships, as well as other mariners to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the combined forces of America and France. The land troops to remain prisoners to the United States; the navy to the naval army of his most Christian Majesty.

Granted

ARTICLE II

The artillery, guns, accoutrements, military chest, and public stores of every denomination, shall be delivered unimpaired, to the heads of departments appointed to receive them.

Granted

ARTICLE III

At twelve o'clock this day the two redoubts on the left bank of York to be delivered; the one to a detachment American infantry; the other to a detachment of French grenadiers.

Granted

The garrison of York will march out to a place to be appointed in front of the posts, at two o'clock precisely, with shouldered arms, colors cased, and drums beating a British or German march. They are then to ground their arms, and to return to their encampments, where they will remain until they are dispatched to the places of their destination. Two works on the Gloucester side will be delivered at one o'clock to a detachment of French and American troops appointed to possess them. The garrison will march out at three o'clock in the afternoon; the cavalry with their swords drawn, trumpets sounding; and the infantry in the manner prescribed for the garrison of York. They are likewise to return to their encampments until they can be finally marched off.

ARTICLE IV

Officers are to retain their side-arms. Both officers and soldiers to keep their private property of every kind and no part of their baggage or papers to be at any time subject to search or inspection. The baggage and papers of officers and soldiers taken during the siege to be likewise preserved for them.

Granted

It is understood that any property obviously belonging to the inhabitants of these States, in the possession of the garrison, shall be subject to be reclaimed.

ARTICLE V

The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, and as much by regiments as possible, and supplied with the same rations or provisions as are allowed to soldiers in the service of America. A field officer from each nation, to wit, British, Anspach, and Hessian, and other officers on parole in the proportions of one to fifty men, to be allowed to reside near their respective regiments and be witness of their treatment; and that their officers may receive and deliver clothing and other necessities for them; for which passports are to be granted when applied for.

Granted

ARTICLE VI

The general, staff and other officers, not employed as mentioned in the articles, and who choose it, to be permitted to go on parole to Europe, to New York, or any other American posts at present in possession of the British forces, at their own option and proper vessels to be granted by the Count de Grasse to carry them under flag of truce to New York within ten days from this date, if possible, and they to reside in a district to be agreed upon hereafter until they embark.

The officers of the civil department of the army and navy to be included in this article. Passports to go by land to those to whom vessels cannot be furnished.

Granted

ARTICLE VII

Officers to be allowed soldiers as servants according to the common practice of the service. Servants, not soldiers, are not to be considered as prisoners and are to be allowed to attend to their masters.

Granted

ARTICLE VIII

The Bonetta sloop of war to be equipped and navigated by its present captain and crew and left entirely at the disposal of Lord Cornwallis from the hour that the capitulation is signed, to receive an aid-de-camp to carry dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton; and such soldiers as he may think proper to send to New York, to be permitted to sail without examination, when his dispatches are ready. His Lordship engages on his part that the ship shall be delivered to the orders of the Count de Grasse, if she escapes the dangers of the sea; that she shall not carry off any public stores. Any part of the crew that may be deficient on her return, and the soldiers passengers, to be accounted for on her delivery.

ARTICLE IX

The traders are to preserve their property, and to be allowed three months to dispose of or remove them and those traders are not to be considered as prisoners of war.

The traders will be allowed to dispose of their effects, the allied army having the right of preemption. The traders to be considered as prisoners of war upon parole.

ARTICLE X

Natives or inhabitants of different parts of this country, at present in York or Gloucester are not to be punished on account of having joined the British army.

This article can not be assented to, being altogether of civil resort.

ARTICLE XI

Proper hospitals to be furnished for the sick and wounded. They are to be attended by their own surgeons on parole; and they are to be furnished with medicine and stores from the American hospitals.

The hospital stores now in York and Gloucester shall be delivered for the use of the British sick and wounded. Passports will be granted for procuring further supplies from New York as occasion may require; and proper hospitals will be furnished for the reception of the sick and wounded of the two garrisons.

ARTICLE XII

Wagons to be furnished to carry the baggage of the officers attending on the soldiers, and to surgeons when travelling on account of the sick, attending the hospitals at the public expense.

They are to be furnished if possible.

ARTICLE XIII

The shipping and boats in the two harbors, with all their stores, guns, tackling, and apparel, shall be delivered up in their present state to an officer of the navy appointed to take possession of them, previously unloading the private property part of which had been on board for security during the siege.

Granted.

ARTICLE XIV

No article of capitulation to be infringed on pretence of reprisals; and if there be any doubtful expressions in it, they are to be interpreted according to the common meaning and acceptance of the words.

Granted.

Done at York Town in Virginia October 19, 1781.

(Signed) Cornwallis

(Signed) Thomas Symonds

Done in the trenches before York Town in Virginia October 19, 1781.

(Signed) G. Washington

(Signed) Le Comte de Rochambeau

(Signed) Le Comte de Barras, en mon nom & celui
de Comte de Grasse

APPENDIX C

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN CAPTAIN SAMUEL GRAHAM AND GENERAL
DANIEL MORGAN

1. Letter from Captain Graham to General Morgan, November 28, 1781,
as cited in Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 306-307.

Sir, -- Having been informed that Colonel Holme's indulgence in allowing 500 of the British prisoners of war to be quartered in the Church in the town of Wynchester has not met with your approbation, and that you intend to order these troops immediately to return to the log huts and join the other prisoners, it is my duty to state to you that on our first arrival in this place, an equal division of the huts was made amongst the prisoners, and finding that there was not [307] a sufficient number to cover above one half, I made frequent representations to Colonel Holmes, Commissary of prisoners, requesting that some immediate steps might be taken for the protection of the other half who are exposed to the inclemency of the weather, as the winter was fast approaching, or to furnish us with tools to build more huts, as we had no money to make such a purchase, he, I have reason to believe, has stated our situation to the Commissary-general, but not having it in his power to grant our immediate relief, humanly allowed the 76th regiment, about 500 men, to march into the church in the town, which as been of great use, as the huts possessed by them at the barracks have been distributed amongst the other prisoners; I hope therefore you will be so obliging as allow these men to remain in the church, as it would be a great hardship to disposses the other soldiers of the huts which were occupied by the 76th regiment, and a still greater hardship to oblige a Highland regiment to construct log huts for themselves, to which work they have never been accustomed, especially when the snow is already on the ground. Should you persist in your determination to order these 500 men to return to the log huts, you will oblige me by acknowledging the receipt of this, that I may have it in my power to show to my superior officers, that I have not failed in my duty in representing this matter to you. -- I have the honour to be most respectfully your humble servant,

(Signed) S. Graham

2. Letter from General Morgan to Captain Graham, November 28, 1781, as cited in Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 68-70.

Sir -- I recd. your letter of this day's date, and am really surprized at the purport of it. two or three days before Christmas our army began to hut at Middle brook, jersey, and had nothing to keep off the inclemency of 69 the weather till huts were made. You have time enough, this snow won't last lon, it will be gone directly, if your men don't know how to work thay must learn, we did not send for them to come among us, neither can we work for them to build them houses, I have been a prisoner as well as thay, and was kept in close goale five month and twelve days; six and thirty officers and there servtⁱⁿ in one room, so that when we lay down upon our straw we covered the shoe floore, consider this, and your men have nothing to grumble at. Col. Holmes had no Right to bring them to town, thay were ordered to the Barrack, and thare thay ought to have continued, Col. Holmes, tho a commissary of prisoner, is under controul, you have nothing to do but Hut your men as soon as you can, for that must be the case I have sent to Genl Washington informing him of all matter and of what I had done, and what I intended to do, and am shure it will meet with his approbation, as he has neaver yet found fault with my conduct, Youl conclude from this that Col. Holmes must obey my orders. The sooner your men hut themselves the better, for thay must not stay in Town much longer. I will try to redress every grevence as well as I can, but this I cant look upon as a grevence; if we had barrack to afford you you should have them, but as we have them net your men must cover themselves, at least I would recommend it to them, or they will suffer

70 I have wrote this letter in a plain rough stile, that you might know what you had to depend on, at which I hope youl not take umbrage

(Signed) DAV. MORGAN
Brigadr. Genl.

To Captain Samuel Graham,
a British officer in
Winchester
by express.

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